



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

### Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

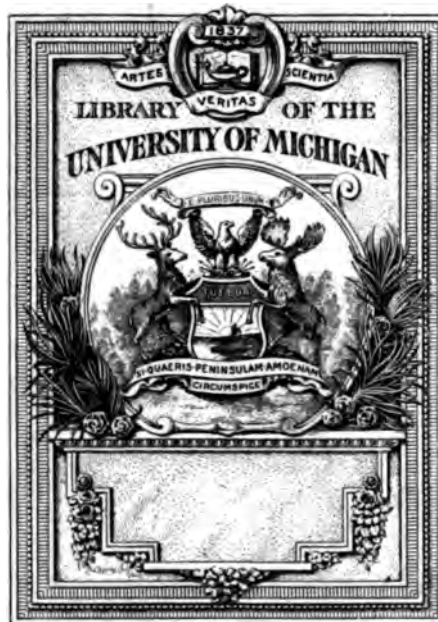
- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

### About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

B

874,548



DA  
670  
L19  
C5  
ns.





# Chetham Society:

ESTABLISHED M.DCCC.XLIII., FOR THE PUBLICATION OF  
HISTORICAL AND LITERARY REMAINS  
CONNECTED WITH THE PALATINE COUNTIES OF  
**Lancaster and Chester.**

---

## COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR 1895-6.

### **President.**

RICHARD COPLEY CHRISTIE, M.A.

### **Vice-President.**

The Right Rev. THE LORD BISHOP OF OXFORD, D.D.

### **Council.**

HENRY THOMAS CROFTON, Esq.  
LIEUT.-COLONEL FISHWICK, F.S.A.  
SIR HENRY H. HOWORTH, M.P., F.R.S., F.S.A.  
RICHARD D. RADCLIFFE, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.  
FRANK RENAUD, Esq., M.D., F.S.A.  
WILLIAM O. ROPER, Esq.  
J. PAUL RYLANDS, Esq., F.S.A.  
T. NORTHCOTE TOLLER, Esq., M.A.  
A. W. WARD, Esq., Lit.D., LL.D.

### **Treasurer.**

J. JOSEPH JORDAN, Esq., Warwick House, Heaton Norris, Stockport.

### **Honorary Secretary.**

CHARLES W. SUTTON, Free Reference Library, King Street, Manchester.

---

## RULES.

1. That the Society shall be limited to three hundred and fifty members.
2. That the Society shall consist of members being subscribers of one pound annually, such subscription to be paid in advance, on or before the day of general meeting in each year. The first general meeting to be held on the 23rd day of March, 1843, and the general meeting in each year afterwards on the first day of March, unless it fall on a Sunday, when some other day is to be named by the Council.
3. That the affairs of the Society be conducted by a Council, consisting of a permanent President and Vice-President, and twelve other members, including a Treasurer and Secretary, all of whom shall be elected, the first two at the general meeting next after a vacancy shall occur, and the twelve other members at the general meeting annually.
4. That the accounts of the receipts and expenditure of the Society be audited annually, by three auditors, to be elected at the general meeting; and that any member who shall be one year in arrear of his subscription, shall no longer be considered as belonging to the Society.
5. That every member not in arrear of his annual subscription, be entitled to a copy of each of the works published by the Society.
6. That twenty copies of each work shall be allowed to the editor of the same, in addition to the one to which he may be entitled as a member.

# LIST OF PUBLICATIONS.

---

## NEW SERIES.

### FIRST YEAR (1882-3).

- Vol. 1. *The Vicars of Rochdale.* By the late Rev. Canon Raines, M.A., F.S.A. Edited by HENRY II. HOWORTH, F.S.A. Part I. *pp.* xiii. 200.
- Vol. 2. *The Vicars of Rochdale.* Part II. *pp.* 201-391.
- Vol. 3. *Lancashire and Cheshire Wills and Inventories at Chester, with an Appendix of Abstracts of Wills now Lost or Destroyed.* Transcribed by the late Rev. G. J. PICCOPE, M.A. Edited by J. P. EARWAKER, M.A., F.S.A. *pp.* x. 262.

### SECOND YEAR (1883-4).

- Vol. 4. *The Catechisme, or a Christian Doctrine necessary for Children and Ignorant people,* of Lawrence Vaux, 1574, sometime Warden of the Collegiate Church, Manchester. Edited by T. G. LAW, Esq., Signet Library, Edinburgh. *pp.* cx. 111.
- Vol. 5. *The Rectors of Manchester, and the Wardens of the Collegiate Church of that Town.* By the late Rev. F. R. RAINES, M.A. Edited by J. E. BAILEY, F.S.A. Part I. *The Rectors; Warden Huntingdon to Warden Chaderton.* *pp.* xx. 100.
- Vol. 6. *The Rectors of Manchester, and the Wardens of the Collegiate Church of that Town.* Part II. *Warden Dee to Warden Herbert.* *pp.* 101-206.

### THIRD YEAR (1884-5).

- Vol. 7. *The Old Church and School Libraries of Lancashire.* With Bibliographical and other Illustrations. By RICHARD COPLEY CHRISTIE. *pp.* xiii. 215.
- Vol. 8. *The History of the Parish of Poulton-le-Fylde.* By HENRY FISHWICK, F.S.A. *pp.* 232.
- Vol. 9. *The Coucher Book of Furness Abbey.* Part I. *The Furness Domains.* Edited by the Rev. J. C. ATKINSON, M.A. *pp.* 260.

### FOURTH YEAR (1885-6).

- Vol. 10. *The History of the Parish of Bispham.* By HENRY FISHWICK, F.S.A. *pp.* 143.
- Vol. 11. *The Coucher Book of Furness Abbey.* Part II. Edited by the Rev. J. C. ATKINSON, M.A. *pp.* 261-536.
- Vol. 12. *The Crosby Records.* Edited by the Rev. T. E. GIBSON and the late Bishop Goss. *pp.* xxvi. 108.

### FIFTH YEAR (1886-7).

- Vol. 13. *A Bibliography of the Works Written and Edited by Dr. Worthington.* By R. C. CHRISTIE. *pp.* vii. 88.
- Vol. 14. *The Coucher Book of Furness Abbey.* Part III. Edited by the Rev. J. C. ATKINSON, D.C.L. *pp.* lx. 537-728. (*Conclusion.*)
- Vol. 15. *The History of the Church and Manor of Wigan.* Part I. By the Hon. and Rev. CANON BRIDGEMAN. *pp.* vii. 180.

SIXTH YEAR (1887-8).

- Vol. 16. The History of the Church and Manor of Wigan. Part II. By the Hon. and Rev. CANON BRIDGEMAN. *pp.* 181-460.  
Vol. 17. The History of the Church and Manor of Wigan. Part III. By the Hon. and Rev. CANON BRIDGEMAN. *pp.* 461-684.  
Vol. 18. The History of the Church and Manor of Wigan. Part IV. By the Hon. and Rev. CANON BRIDGEMAN. *pp.* 685-836. (*Conclusion.*)

SEVENTH YEAR (1888-9).

- Vol. 19. Correspondence of Edward, Third Earl of Derby, during the years 24 to 31 Henry VIII. Edited by T. NORTHCOTE TOLLER, M.A. *pp.* xxvi. 138.  
Vol. 20. The Minutes of the Manchester Presbyterian Classis, 1646-1660. Part I. Edited by WM. A. SHAW, M.A. *pp.* cxli. 82.  
Vol. 21. Lives of the Fellows of the College of Manchester. Part I. By the late F. R. Raines, M.A. Edited by FRANK RENAUD, M.D. *pp.* xiv. 210.

EIGHTH YEAR (1889-90).

- Vol. 22. The Minutes of the Manchester Presbyterian Classis, 1646-1660. Part II. Edited by WM. A. SHAW, M.A. *pp.* 83-281.  
Vol. 23. Lives of the Fellows of the College of Manchester. Part II. By the late F. R. Raines, M.A. Edited by FRANK RENAUD, M.D. With two illustrations. *pp.* 211-398.

NINTH YEAR (1890-91).

- Vol. 24. The Minutes of the Manchester Presbyterian Classis, 1646-1660. Part III. Edited by WM. A. SHAW, M.A. *pp.* 283-464. (*Conclusion.*)  
Vol. 25. The History of the Parish of St. Michaels-on-Wyre. By HENRY FISHWICK, F.S.A. *pp.* 268.

TENTH YEAR (1891-2).

- Vol. 26. Materials for the History of the Church of Lancaster. Part I. Edited by W. O. ROPER. *pp.* 257.  
Vol. 27. Notes on the Churches of Lancashire. By the late Sir Stephen Glynne. Edited by Rev. CANON ATKINSON. *pp.* vii. 127.

ELEVENTH YEAR (1892-3).

- Vol. 28. Lancashire and Cheshire Wills and Inventories at Chester, 1572 to 1696; with an Appendix of Lancashire and Cheshire Wills and Inventories proved at York or Richmond, 1542 to 1649. Edited by J. P. EARWAKER, M.A., F.S.A. *pp.* x. 252.  
Vol. 29. The Poems of John Byrom. Edited by A. W. WARD, LITT.D., HON. LL.D. Vol. I., Miscellaneous Poems, Part I. *pp.* xxxi. 264.

*List of Publications—New Series.*

## TWELFTH YEAR (1893-4).

- Vol. 30. The Poems of John Byrom. Edited by A. W. WARD, Litt.D., Hon. LL.D. Vol. I., Miscellaneous Poems, Part II. *pp.* 265-603.
- Vol. 31. Materials for the History of the Church of Lancaster. Part II. Edited by W. O. ROPER. *pp.* 259-529.

## THIRTEENTH YEAR (1894-5).

- Vol. 32. Notes on the Churches of Cheshire. By the late Sir Stephen Glynne. Edited by REV. CANON ATKINSON. *pp.* iv. 152.
- Vol. 33. The Note Book of the Rev. Thomas Jolly, with Extracts from the Church Book of Altham and Wymondhouses. Edited by HENRY FISHWICK, F.S.A. *pp.* xxxii. 261. (*Three plates.*)

## FOURTEENTH YEAR (1895-6).

- Vol. 34. The Poems of John Byrom. Edited by A. W. WARD, Litt.D., Hon. LL.D. Vol. II., Sacred Poems, Part I. *pp.* 344-
- Vol. 35. The Poems of John Byrom. Edited by A. W. WARD, Litt.D., Hon. LL.D. Vol. II., Sacred Poems, Part II. *pp.* 345-676.

REMAINS  
Historical and Literary  
605:4  
CONNECTED WITH THE PALATINE COUNTIES OF  
Lancaster and Chester.



VOLUME 35.—NEW SERIES.

MANCHESTER:  
Printed for the Chetham Society.  
1895.





## The Chetham Society.

---

COUNCIL FOR 1895-6.

RICHARD COPLEY CHRISTIE, M.A., PRESIDENT.

THE RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF OXFORD, D.D.  
VICE-PRESIDENT.

HENRY THOMAS CROFTON, Esq.

LIEUT.-COLONEL HENRY FISHWICK, F.S.A.

SIR HENRY H. HOWORTH, M.P., F.R.S., F.S.A.

RICHARD D. RADCLIFFE, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.

FRANK RENAUD, Esq., M.D., F.S.A.

WILLIAM O. ROPER, Esq.

J. PAUL RYLANDS, Esq., F.S.A.

T. NORTHCOTE TOLLER, Esq., M.A.

A. W. WARD, Esq., Litt.D., LL.D.  
PRINCIPAL OF THE OWENS COLLEGE.

J. JOSEPH JORDAN, Esq., TREASURER.

CHARLES W. SUTTON, Esq., HON. SECRETARY.



THE  
**P**oems  
OF  
JOHN BYROM.

EDITED BY  
ADOLPHUS WILLIAM WARD,  
LITT.D., HON. LL.D.,  
*Principal of Owens College, Manchester; and*  
*Hon. Fellow of Peterhouse, Cambridge.*

---

VOL. II.—SACRED POEMS.  
PART II.

---

PRINTED FOR THE CHETHAM SOCIETY  
1895.



PRINTED BY CHARLES E. SIMMS  
MANCHESTER.

# CONTENTS.

## VOL. II.—SACRED POEMS.

### PART II.

	PAGE.
A Poetical Version of a Letter from the Earl of Essex to the Earl of Southampton.....	345
An Italian Bishop (an Anecdote).....	353
On Resignation .....	355
A Poetical Version of a Letter from Jacob Behmen to a Friend ...	358
On Resignation (a Fragment) .....	369
On Bearing the Cross (a Dialogue) .....	370
A Soliloquy on the Cause and Consequences of a Doubting Mind	371
A Plain Account of the Nature and Design of True Religion .....	374
On the True Meaning of the Scripture terms "Life" and "Death," when applied to Men.....	376
On the Ground of True and False Religion .....	379
On the Cause, Consequence and Cure of Spiritual Pride .....	380
The Beggar and the Divine .....	383
Fragment of an Hymn on the Goodness of God .....	388
Universal Good the Object of the Divine Will, and Evil the neces- sary effect of the Creature's opposition to it.....	392
On the Disinterested Love of God .....	395
On the Same Subject.....	399
On the meaning of the word "Wrath," as applied to God in Scrip- ture.....	401
The foregoing Subject more fully Illustrated, in a Comment on the following Scripture: " <i>God so loved the world</i> ," &c.....	405
The True Grounds of Eternal and Immutable Rectitude .....	410

## *Contents.*

	PAGE.
On the Nature and Reason of all Outward Law.....	413
Divine Love the Essential Characteristic of True Religion .....	415
On Works of Mercy and Compassion, considered as the Proofs of True Religion .....	418
The Soul's Tendency towards its True Centre .....	420
A Paraphrase on the Prayer used in the Church Liturgy " <i>for all Sorts and Conditions of Men</i> " .....	422
The Prayer of Rusbrochius .....	427
On Attention .....	434
A Prayer used by Francis the First, when he was at War with the Emperor Charles the Fifth .....	435
A Comment on the following Passage in the General Confession of Sins used in the Church-Liturgy: " <i>According to Thy Promises Declared unto Mankind in Christ Jesu our Lord.</i> "	436
On Church Communion .....	439
Part First .....	440
Part Second .....	443
Part Third .....	446
Part Fourth .....	449
Part Fifth .....	452
Part Sixth .....	454
Part Seventh .....	457
A Dying Speech ; from Mr. Law.....	459
A Comment on the following Scripture: " <i>In the beginning was the Word.</i> " .....	461
A Memorial Abstract of a Sermon preached by the Rev. Mr. H— on <i>Proverbs, ch. xx. v. 27</i> .....	464
On the Union and Threefold Distinction of God, Nature and Creature.....	468
On the Origin of Evil .....	473
A Friendly Expostulation with a Clergyman, concerning a passage in his Sermon relating to the Redemption of Mankind .....	476
On the Same Subject .....	480

## Contents.

	PAGE.
Thoughts on Imputed Righteousness, occasioned by reading the Rev. Mr. Hervey's <i>Dialogues between Theron and Aspasio</i> (a Fragment) .....	482
A Contrast between two Eminent Divines .....	495
On the Nature of Free Grace, and the Claim to Merit for the Performance of Good Works .....	496
A Soliloquy on reading a Dispute about Faith and Works .....	498
Thoughts on Predestination and Reprobation (a Fragment).....	500
The Potter and his Clay; An Hymn Ascribed to Dr. Watts .....	509
<i>The Hymn</i> .....	511
The Contrast .....	512
An Argument for David's Belief of a Future State, inferred from Bathsheba's Last Words to him upon his Death-bed .....	514
An Expostulation with a Zealous Sectarist, who inveighed in bitter terms against the Clergy and Church Institutions .....	516
On the Fall of Man .....	520
On Jonathan Edwards' <i>Enquiry Concerning Freewill</i> .....	523
Miscellaneous Pieces, consisting of Thoughts on Various Subjects, Fragments, Epigrams, &c.....	530
TRANSLATED VERSE—	
The Immortality of the Soul.....	538
LATIN VERSE—	
An Intimation of Immortality ..	558
<i>Laudes Antonietta</i> .....	558
<i>Imitatio Christi</i> .....	561
Knowing and Doing .....	562
Thy Will be Done.....	562
The Human Will .....	563
The Lord's Prayer.....	564
Happiness in Submission to the Divine Will .....	564
Little Faith.....	565
Gnomic Philosophy .....	565
Self-Surrender to God .....	566

## *Contents.*

APPENDICES—	PAGE.
I. A Paraphrase of <i>Hebrews I. 1-3</i> .....	571
II. The Hermit .....	573
III. The Chester Printers' Penance .....	574
IV. List of non-extant pieces in verse written by Byrom, or proposed to be written by him, or for which subjects were suggested to him .....	577
V. Extracts from John Byrom's Journal, Letters, &c., 1728- 1732 (mainly 1730-32); " <i>Chetham Library MS.</i> "...	582
<hr/>	
ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA .....	649
INDEX.....	653

# The Poems of John Byrom.

VOL. II. PART II.

---

## A POETICAL VERSION OF A LETTER FROM THE EARL OF ESSEX TO THE EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON.

[In Cogan's edition of *Somers' Tracts*, 1748, vol. iv. pp. 132 *seqq.*, is printed "*A precious and most divine letter from that famous and ever to be renowned Earl of Essex (father to the now Lord General his Excellence) to the Earl of South-Hampton in the latter time of Queen Elizabeth's reign, 1643.*" This *Letter* is not inserted in the edition of the *Tracts* revised by Sir Walter Scott, and seems therefore worth reprinting here, which I am enabled to do by a transcript kindly made for me by Mr. W. A. Shaw from the British Museum copy of Cogan's edition. Although the *Letter* was not published till 1643, there seems no reason for doubting that it was actually written by Essex when under sentence of death in the Tower, at some time before the second signing of his death-warrant by Queen Elizabeth on February 24th, 1601, followed by his execution on the 25th. The paper reflects the crushed condition of mind to which, after persisting in vindicating his conduct as devoid of offence against God, Essex seems to have been at last reduced by the "menaces" of his chaplain Ashton (see LINGARD, *History of England*, vol. vi. chap. 9, p. 302, 6th edn., 1855), while its diction is tinged by the Puritanism habitual to the writer. Southampton had been reprieved before the execution of Essex, and although the Queen had refused to

Y Y

U of M

allow of his release from the Tower, his life might be looked upon as saved. His friendship for Essex seems to have been his sole motive for taking part in the enterprise which brought the latter to the block.

In Cogan's reprint, the *Letter* is preceded by a page of panegyric on Essex. If this is taken from the original tract, it may be conjectured that this publication was intended to bolster up the popularity of the faithful but unlucky Parliamentary General, the third Earl, who is so pointedly referred to in the title. (Cf. S. R. Gardiner, *History of the Great Civil War*, i. 182-3, 1886.)

The *Letter* runs as follows : —

"My Lord,

As neither nature nor custom ever made me a man of complement, so now I shall have less will than ever for to use ceremonies, when I have left with Martha to be *sollicitus circa multa* and believe with Mary *unum sufficit*. But it is no complement or ceremony, but a real and necessary duty that one friend oweth to another in absence, and especially at their leave-taking when in man's reason many accidents may keep them long divided, or perhaps barr them ever meeting till they meet in another world ; for then shall I think that my friend, whose honour, whose person, and whose fortune is dear unto me, shall prosper and be happy where ever he goes, and what ever he takes in hand, when he is in the favour of that God under whose protection there is only safety, and in whose service there is only true happiness to be found. What I think of your natural gifts or ability in this age or in this state to give glory to God and to win honour to yourself, if you employ the talents you have received to their best use, I will not now tell you ; it sufficeth that when I was farthest of all times from dissembling I spake truly, and have witness enough. But these things only I will put your Lordship in mind of : —

First : That you have nothing that you have not earned.

Secondly : That you possess them, not as Lord over them, but as an accomptant for them.

Thirdly : If you employ them to serve this world on your own worldly delights (which the Prince of this world will seek to entertain you with) it is ingratitude, it is injustice, yea, it is perfidious treachery.

For what would you think of such a servant of yours that should convert your goods committed to his charge to the advantage or service of your greatest enemy, and what do you less than this with God, since you have all from him, and know that the world and Prince thereof are at a continual enmity with him, and therefore, if ever the admonition of your truest friend shall be heard by you, or if your country which you may serve in so great and many things be dear unto you ; if your God whom you must (if you deal truly with your self) acknowledge to be powerful over all and just in all, be feared by you ; yea, if you be dear unto your self and prefer an everlasting happiness before a pleasant dream which you must shortly awake out of and then repent in the bitterness of your soul,—if any of these things be regarded by you, then I say, call your self to

account for what is past, cancel all the leagues you have made without the warrant of a religious conscience, make a resolute covenant with your God to serve him with all your natural and spiritual, inward and outward gifts and abilities, and then he that is faithful (and cannot lie) hath promised to honour them that honour him ; he will give you that inward peace of soul and true joy of heart which till you have you shall never rest, and which when you have you shall never be shaken and which you can never attain to any other way than this that I have shewed you.

I know your Lordship may say to your self and object to me, this is but a vapor of melancholie and the state of a prisoner ; and that I was far enough from it when I lived in the world as you do now, and may be so again when my fetters be taken from me. I answer, though your Lordship should think so, yet cannot I distrust the goodness of my God that his mercy will fail not or his Grace forsake me ; I have so deeply engaged myself that I should be one of the most miserable apostates that ever was ; I have so avowed my profession, and called so many from time to time to witness it and to be watchmen over me, that I should be the hollowest hypocrite that ever was born. But though I should perish in my own sin and draw upon myself my own damnation, should not you take hold of the Grace and mercy in God which is offered unto you, and make your profit of my fearful and wretched example ? I was longer a slave and servant to the world and the corruptions of it than you have been, and therefore could hardly be drawn from it. I had many calls, and answered some of them slowly, thinking a soft pace fast enough to come to Christ, and myself forward enough when I saw the end of my journey, though I arrived not at it ; and therefore I have been by God's providence violently pulled, hal'd, or drag'd to the Marriage Feast, as the world hath seen. It was just with God to afflict me in this world, that he might give me joy in another. I had too much knowledge when I performed too little obedience, and was therefore to be beaten with double stripes. God grant [you] may feel the comfort I now enjoy in my unfained conversion, but that you never feel the torments I have suffered for my too long delaying it ! I had none but Divines to call upon me, to whom I said, if my ambition could have entered into their narrow hearts, they would not have been so humble ; or if any delights had been tasted by them they could not have been so precise. But your Lordship hath one to call upon you that knows what it is you now enjoy and what the greatest fruit and end is of all the contentments that this world can afford.

Think therefore, dear Earl, that I have staked and bounded all the ways of pleasure to you and left them as sea marks for you to keep the channel of Religious Virtue ; for shut your eyes never so long, they must be open at last, and then you must say with me there is no peace to the wicked. I will make a covenant with my soul not to suffer my eyes to sleep in the night nor my thoughts to attend the first business of the day, till I have prayed to my God that your Lordship may believe and make profit of this plain but faithful admonition, and then I know your country and friends shall be happy in you and yourself successful in all you take in hand, which shall be an unspeakable comfort to

Your Worship's cousin and true friend, whom no worldly cause can divide from you,  
ESSEX.]

MY LORD,  
 Untaught by Nature or by Art  
 To give the genuine Dictates of my Heart  
 The Gloss of Compliment, I never less  
 Than now should aim at that polite Excess,—  
 Now, that my wand'ring Thoughts are fix'd upon  
 Not Martha's *many* Things, but Mary's *one*.

'Tis not from any ceremonious View,  
 But to discharge a real, needful Due  
 From Friend to Friend in Absence, that I write  
 To mine, secluded from his wonted Sight ; 10  
 By Force oblig'd to give, and to receive  
 A long—perhaps, a last departing—Leave ;  
 For small, by ev'ry Test of human Ken,  
 The Hopes of meeting in this World again.

Under such Circumstances I recall  
 My Friend, whose Honour, Person, Fortune, All,  
 So dear to me, make Bosom-Wish to swell,  
 That he may always prosper and do well,  
 Where'er he goes, whate'er he takes in Hand,  
 Under the Favour, Service, and Command 20  
 Of His protecting Providence, from Whom  
 All Happiness, if truly such, must come.

My Friend's Abilities and present State  
 Of natural Endowments how I rate,—  
 To God what Glory, to himself what Use,  
 The best Exertion of them might produce,—

6. *Not Martha's MANY things, but* but one thing is needful : and Mary hath  
*Mary's ONE.* “And Jesus answered and chosen that good part, which shall not  
 said unto her, Martha, Martha, thou art be taken away from her.” (*St. Luke*, x.  
 careful and troubled about many things : 41-2.)

I shall not here express. Enough to note  
That, at such Times as I was most remote  
From all dissembling, Witnesses enow  
Can vouch my speaking what I thought was true ! 30

The Truths which Love now prompts me to remind  
Your Lordship of, are of the following Kind :  
First,—that whatever Talents you possess,  
They are *God's* Gifts, Whom you are bound to bless ;  
Next,—that you have them, not as Things your own,  
Tho' for your Use, yet not for yours alone,  
But as an human Stewarty or Trust,  
Of which Account is to be giv'n, and just.  
So that, in fine, if Talents are applied 40  
To serve the Spirit of the World in Pride  
And vain Delights, as he who rules the Scenes  
Of guilty Joy, the Prince of Darkness, means,—  
It is Ingratitude, Injustice too,  
Yea, 'tis perfidious Treachery in you.  
For, if a Servant of your own should dare  
To use the Goods committed to his Care  
To the Advantage of your greatest Foe,  
What would you think of his behaving so ?  
Yet how with *God* would you yourself do less,  
Having from Him whatever you possess, 50  
And serving with it, in the Donor's Stead,  
That Foe to Him by Whom the World is led ?

37. *Stewarty*. Stewardship. The steward (sty-ward) is the servant specially trusted by his master.

38. *Of which Account is to be given*. Cf. *St. Luke*, xvi. 2.

41. *And vain Delights*. In warning Southampton against "worldly delights,"

Essex probably had in mind those stage-plays of which Southampton and he were alike patrons. As is well known, the friends of Essex caused Shakespere's *Richard II.* to be performed at the Globe Theatre on the eve of the Sunday on which he made the futile attempt to rouse the City.

A serious Thought if you can ever lend  
 To Admonition from your truest Friend ;  
 If the Regard due to your Country sways,  
 Which you may serve so many glorious Ways ;  
 If an All-ruling, Righteous Pow'r above  
 Can raise your Dread of Justice or your Love ;  
 If you yourself will to yourself be true,  
 And everlasting Happiness pursue 60  
 Before the Joys of any worldly Scheme,  
 The short Delusions of a pleasing Dream ;  
 Of which, whatever it may represent,  
 The Soul, soon wak'd, must bitterly repent ;  
 If these Reflections, any of them, find  
 Due Estimation in your prudent Mind :—  
 Take an Account of what is done and past,  
 And what the Future may demand, forecast ;  
 The Leagues, whatever they import, repeal,  
 To which good Conscience has not set the Seal ; 70  
 And fix your Resolution firm, to serve  
 Him from Whose Will no loyal Thought can swerve,—  
 That Gracious God from Whom in very Deed  
 All your Abilities and Gifts proceed,  
 Whether of bodily or mental Trace,—  
 Without, within,—of Nature, or of Grace !

Then He Who cannot possibly deny  
 Himself, or give His Faithfulness the Lie,  
 Will honour His true Servant, and impart  
 That real Peace of Mind, that Joy of Heart, 80  
 Of which until you are become possest,  
 Your Heart, your Mind, shall never be at Rest ;  
 And when you are, by having well approv'd  
 The one true Way, it never shall be mov'd.

"This," I foresee, your Lordship may object,  
"Is Melancholy's vaporous Effect ;"  
That I am got into a Pris'ner's Style ;  
Far enough from it all the jocund While  
That I was free like you, and other Men ;  
And, Fetters gone, should be the same again. 90

To which I answer : " Say it tho' you should,  
Yet cannot I distrust a God so Good ;  
Or Mercy failing me, so greatly shown,  
Or Grace forsaking, but by Fault my own.  
So deeply bound to Him, my Heart so burns  
To make His Mercy suitable Returns,  
That, not to try, of all th' Apostate Class  
Worse should I be than any other was.  
I have with such repeated, solemn Stress,  
Avow'd the Penitence which I profess,— 100  
From time to Time so call'd on not a few  
To witness and to watch, if it was true,  
That of all Hypocrites, if found to lie,  
That e'er were born, the hollowest were I."

But should I perish in my Sins, and draw  
Upon myself my own Damnation's Law,  
Will it not be your Wisdom to embrace  
God's offer'd Mercy, of a Saving Grace,—  
To profit by Example, if you see  
The fearful Case of miserable Me ? 110

A longer Time was I a Slave to Sin  
And a corrupted World than you have been ;  
Had many a too-too slowly-answer'd Call  
That made still harder my Return from Thrall.  
To come to *Christ* was requisite I knew ;

113. *Too-too*. A common Elizabethan is in *Hamlet*, I., 2, 129 :  
reduplication. The best-known instance "O that this too-too solid flesh would melt!"

But softer Pace, I flatter'd me, would do.  
 The Journey's End contented I remain'd  
 To see and own, tho' still 'twas unattain'd.  
 Therefore, the same Good Providence that call'd  
 With a kind Violence, has pull'd and haul'd,— 120  
 As public Eye may, outwardly at least,  
 Have seen,—and dragg'd me to the Marriage-Feast.

Kind, in this World, Affliction's heaviest Load,  
 That, in another, Bliss might be bestow'd ;  
 Kind the repeated Stripes, that should correct  
 Of too great Knowledge a too small Effect.  
 God grant your Lordship may with less Alloy  
 Feel an unfeign'd Conversion's inward Joy,  
 As I do now ; and find the Happy Way  
 Without the Torments of so long Delay ! 130

To the Divines (and there were none beside  
 That nam'd Conversion to me) I replied :  
 " Could my Ambition enter, and possess  
 Your narrow Hearts, your Meekness would be less ;  
 Were my Delights to which it gives the Rise  
 Tasted by you, you would be less precise."  
 But you, my Lord, have the momentous Hint  
 From one that knows the very utmost Stint  
 Of all that can amuse you, whilst you live,  
 Of all Contentments which the World can give. 140

132. *The Divines.* Lingard says that Essex, after being assigned to the Tower, turned a deaf ear to the eloquence of Dove, Dean of Norwich and afterwards Bishop of Peterborough, but yielded to the fear of death, or to the stern warnings of his favourite minister, Ashton. The result was his long confession (supposing it genuine).

136. *You would be less precise.* Less

punctilious, rigid. "A Precisian" is the title of one of Sir Thomas Overbury's *Characters*; "A Puritane" that of another; but the distinction between them seems to be without a difference. The arrogance of the whole of this passage is characteristic of the kind of "conversion" which Essex had possibly undergone.

138. *The very utmost Stint.* The extreme limit.

Think then, dear Earl, that I have stak'd and buoy'd  
The Ways of Pleasure, fatally enjoy'd,  
And set them up, as Marks at Sea, for you  
To keep true Virtue's Channel in your View ;  
Think, tho' your Eyes should long be shut and fast,  
They *must*, they *must*, be open'd at *the last* !  
Truth will compel you to confess, like me,  
That to the wicked *Peace* can *never* be.  
With my own Soul, that Heav'n may deign to aid  
My Heart's Address, this Covenant is made : 150  
My Eyes shall never yield to Sleep at Night  
Nor Thoughts attend the Bus'ness of the Light,  
Till I have pray'd my God, that you may take  
This plain, but faithful Warning for my Sake  
With a believing Profit. Then, in you  
Your Friends, your Country will be happy too,  
And all your Aims succeed. Events so blest  
Would fill with Comfort not to be express'd  
Your Lordship's Cousin and true Friend,—so tied  
That worldly Cause can never once divide,— 160

ESSEX.

155. *With a believing Profit.* With a belief that may profit you. See the prose text.

---

## AN ITALIAN BISHOP.

### AN ANECDOTE.

[I have found no clue to the origin of the ensuing piece,—a pleasing specimen of a class of composition in which Byrom excelled, and which it is to be regretted that he should not have more frequently attempted. The only biography of an Italian bishop in his Library is, so far as I know, Giussano's *Vita di S. Carlo Borromeo, Arcivescovo di Milano*

ZZ

(Venice, 1613); but though the anecdote suits the character of that saintly prelate, it is expressly said (l. 12) to be told of a bishop of name unknown.]

THERE is no Kind of a fragmental Note  
 That pleases better than an Anecdote  
 Or Fact unpublish'd, when it comes to rise,  
 And give the more agreeable Surprise.  
 From long Oblivion sav'd, an useful Hint  
 Is doubly grateful, when reviv'd in Print.  
 A late and striking Instance of this Kind  
 Delighted many an attentive Mind ;  
 This Anecdote my Task is to rehearse,  
 As highly fit to be consign'd to Verse. 10

There liv'd a Bishop, once upon a Time,—  
 Where, is not said, but *Italy* the Clime,—  
 An honest, pious Man, who understood  
 How to behave as a true Bishop should ;  
 But thro' an Opposition, form'd to blast  
 His good Designs by Men of diff'rent Cast,  
 He had some tedious Struggles and a Train  
 Of rude Affronts and Insults to sustain,—  
 And did sustain ; with calm, unruffled Mind  
 He bore them all, and never once repin'd. 20  
 An intimate Acquaintance, one who knew  
 What Difficulties he had waded thro'  
 Time after Time, and very much admir'd  
 A Patience so provok'd and so untir'd,  
 Made bold to ask him, if he could impart  
 Or teach the Secret of his happy Art.  
 "Yes," said the good old Prelate, "that I can ;  
 And 'tis a plain and practicable Plan.  
 For all the Secret that I know of, lies  
 In making a right Use of my own Eyes." 30

Begg'd to explain himself, how that should be,  
 "Why, in whatever State I am," said he,  
 "I first look up to Heav'n, as well aware,  
 That to get thither is my main Affair.  
 I then look down upon the Earth and think,  
 In a short space of Time how small a Chink  
 I shall possess of its extensive Ground ;  
 And then I cast my seeing Eyes around,  
 Where more Distress appears on ev'ry Side  
 Amongst Mankind than I myself abide. 40  
 So that, reflecting on my own Concern,  
 First,—where true Happiness is plac'd, I learn ;  
 Next,—let the World to what it will pretend,  
 I see where all its Good and Ill must end ;  
 Last,—how unjust it is, as well as vain,  
 Upon a fair Discernment, to complain.  
 Thus, looking up and down and round about,  
 Right use of Eyes may find my Secret out :  
 'With Heav'n in view,—his real Home, in fine,—  
 Nothing on Earth should make a Man repine.'" 50

---

## ON RESIGNATION.

### TO A FRIEND IN TROUBLE.

[These beautiful lines may, both from their general character and from the circumstance that the friend is twice (ll. 1 and 51) addressed as "dear Child," be surmised to have been written in Byrom's later years. He would hardly have addressed a friend of his own age after this fashion, like Horace Walpole. The theme of Resignation may be described as akin to that of Contentment, of which Byrom was so fond (cf. *ante* vol. i. p. 121), but more spiritual in its nature. The *Second Book* of Jacob Böhme's *The Way to Christ Discovered* (English Translation, Manchester, 1752) treats of *True Resignation*. Byrom's Library

(see *Catalogue*, p. 237) contains Dr. Worthington's book entitled *The Great Duty of Self-Resignation to the Divine Will*, and stated to contain the substance of several sermons on the subject delivered by the author when in cumbent of St. Bene't-Fink, including one on the example of Job, preached on the Sunday when the Great Fire of London broke out which laid this church and parish in ashes.]

DEAR Child, know this, that He Who gave thee Breath,  
 Almighty God, is Lord of Life and Death,  
 And all Things that concern them, such as these,—  
 Youth, Health, or Strength ; Age, Weakness, or Disease !  
 Wherefore, whatever thy Affliction be,  
 Take it as coming from thy God to thee !  
 Whether to teach thee Patience be its End ;  
 Or to instruct such Persons as attend,  
 That Faith and Meekness, tried by Suff'rings past,  
 May yield Increase of Happiness at last ; 10  
 Or whether it be sent for some Defect,  
 Which He, who wants to bless thee, would correct,—  
 Certain it is, that if thou dost repent,  
 And take thy Cross up patiently, when sent,  
 Trusting in Him Who sends it thee, to take  
 For *Jesus Christ* His Son, thy Saviour's, Sake,  
 Wholly submitting to His blessed Will,  
 Whose Visitation seeks thy Profit still,—  
 All that thou dost, or ever canst endure,  
 Will make thy everlasting Joy more sure ! 20

Take therefore what befalls thee in good Part,  
 As a Prescription of Love's Healing Art !  
 "Whom the Lord loveth He chastiseth too,"  
 Saith Paul, "and scourgeth with a Saving View."

23 *seqq.* "Whom the Lord loveth He he receiveth. If ye endure chastening, chastiseth too," &c. See *Hebrews*, xii. God dealeth with you as with sons ; for 6-10 : "For whom the Lord loveth he what son is he whom the father chasteneth chastiseth, and scourgeth every son whom not ? But if ye be without chastisement,

It is the Mark by which He owns a Child,  
 Without it not so honourably styl'd.  
 Fathers according to the Flesh, when they  
 Correct them, Children rev'ence and obey ;  
 How much more justly may That Father claim,  
 By Whom we live eternally, the same ! 30  
 They oft chastise thro' Humour of their own,  
 He always for our greater Good alone,—  
 Chast'ning below, that we may rise above,  
 Holy and happy in our Father's Love.

These Things, for Comfort and Instruction fit,  
 In Holy Scripture for our Sakes are writ,  
 That with a patient and enduring Mind  
 In all Conditions we may be resign'd ;  
 And, rev'rencing our Father and our Friend,  
 Take what His Goodness shall be pleas'd to send. 40  
 What greater Good, considering the Whole,  
 Than Christ's Own Likeness in a Christian Soul  
 By patient Suff'ring ? Think what Ills, before  
 He enter'd into Joy, our Saviour bore ;  
 What Things He suffer'd to retrieve our Loss,  
 And make His Way to Glory thro' the Cross  
 The Way for us ; He wanted none to make  
 But for the poor lost human Sinner's Sake ;  
 For them He suffer'd more than Words can tell,  
 Or Thought conceive. Reflect upon it well, 50

whereof all are partakers, then are ye bastards and not sons. Furthermore, we have had fathers of our flesh which corrected us, and we gave them reverence : shall we not much rather be in subjection unto the Father of spirits, and live ? For they verily for a few days chastened us after their own pleasure ; but he for our profit, that we might be partakers of his holiness." 45 *seqq.* *What things He suffer'd, &c.* Cf. *Hymn for Christmas*, ll. 39-40 (*ante*, p. 22). "Trace we the Babe Who has retriev'd our Loss From His poor Manger to His bitter Cross!"

Dear Child, and whether Life or Death remains,  
 Depend on Him to sanctify thy Pains ;  
 To be Himself thy strong Defence, and Tow'r ;  
 To make thee know and feel His saving Pow'r !  
 Still taught by Him repeat, " Thy Will be done "  
 And trust in God thro' His Belovèd Son.

---

A POETICAL VERSION OF A LETTER FROM  
 JACOB BEHMEN TO A FRIEND, ON THE  
 SAME OCCASION.

[The original of the following paraphrase will be found in the English Translation, by J. E. [Ellistone] of thirty-three of the *Theosophische Sendbriefe*, written by Jacob Böhme to friends during the years 1618 to 1624, and containing, together with references to his personal circumstances, much information as to the origin of his writings and the requisites for understanding him. The English Translation, of which there are two copies in Byrom's Library, bears the title *The Epistles of Jacob Behmen, aliter, Teutonicus Philosophus, very useful and necessary for those that read his Writings, and are very full of excellent and plaine Instructions how to attaine to The Life of Christ. Translated out of the German Language. London, 1649*; and in the copy which I have used, the following epistle, which it seems worth while to reprint *verbatim*, occupies pp. 123-7 :

A LETTER WRITTEN TO ONE IN TEMPTATION, AND TROUBLE  
 OF MINDE, SHOWING WHENCE IT ARISETH.

*Our Salvation is in the life of Jesus Christ, in Us.*

1. Dear Sir, my *Fellow-member*, and Brother in Christ our Saviour ; my cordial wish and co-operating desire of the Divine Love and Grace premised ; I desire to let you know in Christian Love, that I have considered your condition in a Christian Sympathy and fellow-feeling ; and have brought it before the gracious compassion of the most high, to see what he would be pleased to let me know therein.

2. Whereupon, Sir, I must tell you, that I in the same gracious compassion obtained such an insight and *Vision* of your condition and Temptation, that the ground and

cause of it is made known to me ; and I will set it down in brief for a *Memorandum*, that you may consider and ponder it seriously by your self.

3. The *first* cause of such strong working temptation is the super-natural, super-abundant and unspeakable love of God ; (that is, the Divine good will, and then the creatural will of man struggling one against another) that the human will refuseth fully to resign and give itself up with total confidence unto such great grace of God ; which is tendered unto it out of pure love ; but seeketh itself and its *own love* of transitory things ; and loveth itself, and the beings [Margin : Or, *Things*] of this World more than God.

4. Therefore, man's own nature (which in its own centre without the love of God, standeth in mere anguish, strife, enmity and unquiet contrariness) tempteth him ; into which also the Devil shooteth his false desire, to lead man astray from such high grace, and love of God.

5. This temptation is the greatest ; and it is even the combat which Christ maintaineth with his love (shed forth into the nature of man) against such *selfness*, also against God's anger, sin, death, Devil and hell, in which combat the human Dragon must be devoured by the love of Christ, and changed into an angelical Image.

6. And if the love of God in Christ *had not its influence in you*, you should have none of this combat, but the Dragon (viz. the false devilish will) would maintain his natural right (and possession without *any such conflict* or disturbance).

7. Now, therefore, this perplexing and distressing temptation is wrought very sensibly in nature by the Dragon, who is in travelling [travailing ?] anguish with his own nature, when such great love of God cometh into him and would change his natural right into a *divine* (self-denying) *will*.

8. For here Christ (the Serpent-destroyer) standeth in man, in hell, and stormeth or assaulteth the strong prey-fort of the Devil, whence ariseth such strife ; where Christ and Lucifer fight for the soul, as God hath given you to see, and know experimentally in the first Temptation.

9. Thus *Christ bruises the head of the Serpent, and the Serpent stingeth Christ in the heel*, and the poor soul standeth in the midst in great trembling and sadness, and can do nothing, but only stand still in *hope* ; it is not able also to lift up its face before God, and pour forth its effectual prayers ; for the Dragon turneth its face towards the vanity of this World ; and shows it the beauty and glory of this World ; and mocketh it, because it will become another creature ; and represents unto it the Kingdom in which it liveth and its natural ground.

10. And here the soul standeth with Christ in the Wilderness, in the *forty days' Temptation* ; where the might, glory, riches and pleasure of this World is tendered unto it, alluring it to elevate itself, and enter into its own self-will.

11. The *Second* Temptation of *Lucifer*, and the selfish Dragon of nature, is this, that, when the soul hath tasted the Divine love, and hath been once illuminated, then the soul will have that same light for its own propriety [*i.e.* property], and work therein in its own Power and ability as in its own peculiar possession ; understand, the nature of the soul, which being without God's light is a Dragon as *Lucifer*, that I say will have it for its own propriety ; but this Dragon will not resign up its natural right ;

Dear Child, and whether Life or Death remains,  
 Depend on Him to sanctify thy Pains ;  
 To be Himself thy strong Defence, and Tow'r ;  
 To make thee know and feel His saving Pow'r !  
 Still taught by Him repeat, " Thy Will be done "  
 And trust in God thro' His Belovèd Son.

---

A POETICAL VERSION OF A LETTER FROM  
 JACOB BEHMEN TO A FRIEND, ON THE  
 SAME OCCASION.

[The original of the following paraphrase will be found in the English Translation, by J. E. [Ellistone] of thirty-three of the *Theosophische Sendbriefe*, written by Jacob Böhme to friends during the years 1618 to 1624, and containing, together with references to his personal circumstances, much information as to the origin of his writings and the requisites for understanding him. The English Translation, of which there are two copies in Byrom's Library, bears the title *The Epistles of Jacob Behmen, aliter, Teutonicus Philosophus, very useful and necessary for those that read his Writings, and are very full of excellent and plaine Instructions how to attaine to The Life of Christ. Translated out of the German Language. London, 1649*; and in the copy which I have used, the following epistle, which it seems worth while to reprint *verbatim*, occupies pp. 123-7 :

A LETTER WRITTEN TO ONE IN TEMPTATION, AND TROUBLE  
 OF MINDE, SHOWING WHENCE IT ARISETH.

*Our Salvation is in the life of Jesus Christ, in Us.*

1. Dear Sir, my *Fellow-member*, and Brother in Christ our Saviour ; my cordial wish and co-operating desire of the Divine Love and Grace premised ; I desire to let you know in Christian Love, that I have considered your condition in a Christian Sympathy and fellow-feeling ; and have brought it before the gracious compassion of the most high, to see what he would be pleased to let me know therein.

2. Whereupon, Sir, I must tell you, that I in the same gracious compassion obtained such an insight and *Vision* of your condition and Temptation, that the ground and

cause of it is made known to me ; and I will set it down in brief for a *Memorandum*, that you may consider and ponder it seriously by your self.

3. The *first* cause of such strong working temptation is the super-natural, super-abundant and unspeakable love of God ; (that is, the Divine good will, and then the creatural will of man struggling one against another) that the human will refuseth fully to resign and give itself up with total confidence unto such great grace of God ; which is tendered unto it out of pure love ; but seeketh itself and its *own* love of transitory things ; and loveth itself, and the beings [Margin : Or, *Things*] of this World more than God.

4. Therefore, man's own nature (which in its own centre without the love of God, standeth in mere anguish, strife, enmity and unquiet contrariness) tempteth him ; into which also the Devil shooteth his false desire, to lead man astray from such high grace, and love of God.

5. This temptation is the greatest ; and it is even the combat which Christ maintaineth with his love (shed forth into the nature of man) against such *selfness*, also against God's anger, sin, death, Devil and hell, in which combat the human Dragon must be devoured by the love of Christ, and changed into an angelical Image.

6. And if the love of God in Christ *had not its influence in you*, you should have none of this combat, but the Dragon (viz. the false devilish will) would maintain his natural right (and possession without any such conflict or disturbance).

7. Now, therefore, this perplexing and distressing temptation is wrought very sensibly in nature by the Dragon, who is in travelling [travailing?] anguish with his own nature, when such great love of God cometh into him and would change his natural right into a *divine* (self-denying) will.

8. For here Christ (the Serpent-stroper) standeth in man, in hell, and stormeth or assaulteth the strong prey-fort of the Devil, whence ariseth such strife ; where Christ and Lucifer fight for the soul, as God hath given you to see, and know experimentally in the first Temptation.

9. Thus Christ bruith the head of the Serpent, and the Serpent stingeth Christ in the *ist*, and the poor soul standeth in the most in great trembling and sadness, and can do nothing, but only stand still in *hope* ; it is not able also to lift up its face before God, and pour forth its essential prayer ; for the Dragon turneth its face towards the unity of this World ; and sheweth the beauty and glory of this World ; and maketh it, because it will become another creature ; and represent unto it the Kingdom in which it liveth and its natural grace.

10. And here the soul standeth with Christ in the Wilderness, in the forty days *temptation* ; where the mighty God Father and promise of the World is tendered with, offering it to elevate itself, and become an *angel*.

11. The *Second* Temptation of Christ, and the subtle Dragon of nature, is this, that when the soul hath taken the love of God, and hath been once with Christ, then it will have the same, greater and more precious (the property), and will have its own Power and will, as the Devil hath his ; and the Dragon will say, that I say will I say, which is the *will* of the Devil ; and the Dragon will set up its natural right ; and for its own property ; and the Dragon will set up its natural right ;

he will be a maker and disposer of the Divine power, and live therein in great joy in his fiery (selfish) nature ; and this cannot be.

12. This Dragon (viz. the fiery nature) must be changed with its own will into a Love-fire, and forego his natural right ; but he is unwilling to do it ; but he in such a change or transmutation looketh for an *own self power*, and yet findeth none, and therefore he beginneth to doubt of grace, because he seeth that in such working he must forsake his natural desire and will ; and hence he continually is afraid, and will not *die* in the Divine light *from his own natural Right*, but always *thinketh* that the light of *Grace* (which worketh without such sharpness and fiery might) is a *false* light.

13. Whence it cometh, that the outward Reason (which, however, is blind and seeth nothing of itself) continually thinketh : " O ! who knoweth how it is with thee, whether it be true or no, that God hath illuminated thee, that he is in thee ? It may likely proceed from such a *Fancy* ; thou seest not the like in other people, and yet they think to be saved as well as thou ; thou makest thyself thereby only the fool of the World, and standest in fear and trembling at God's anger, more than those who comfort themselves only with the *promise* of grace upon the *future* Revelation.

14. Thus it cometh to pass, that then the internal ground doth sigh and pant after the inflammation and motion of the light, and fain would have it ; but the nature is able to do nothing ; it is as if it were wholly rejected of God,—which is also true, as to the Self-will ; but God hath *planted* a new will *into it* ; it must die to its own will, and be changed into God's will.

15. And because the will of nature must here die and resign up its own right to the will of God, therefore such grievous temptations are therein ; for the Devil will not have his *Prey-fort* to fall, or be demolished ; for if Christ shall live in Man, then the spirit of self-lust and imagination must die, and yet it doth *not wholly* die in the time of this life by reason of the flesh, but it *dieth daily, and yet liveth* [cf. *1 Corinthians*, xv. 31] ; and therefore there is such contest, which no wicked man feeleth, but only those who have put on Christ, in whom Christ fighteth with *Lucifer*.

16. The *Third* Temptation is in the strongholds of the Devil, namely, in the will and mind, as also in the flesh and blood ; where the false Centres lie in man, as, a peculiar self-will to the proud temporal life, to the lust of the flesh, to earthly things ; also many curses of men which have been wished upon his body and soul, through his temptation ; all the sins which have grounded and concentrated, and yet stand in the *Astral* spirit as a strong Fort ; in which Christ now fighteth, and will destroy it ; which stronghold of might, pleasure and beauty of this World, the human will doth still esteem and hold for its propriety and best treasure, and will not resign it up, and be obedient to Christ.

17. Therefore, beloved Sir and Christian Brother, I tell you, and give you to understand, what our loving Lord Jesus Christ hath shown me in my consideration ; examine yourself, what your Temptation it ; our Dear Lord said, we must forsake all, and follow him [cf. *St. Luke*, xviii. 22] ; and so we should be right Christ-like poor [*Margin* : Or, *Truly spiritually poor*].

18. Now, if you yet stick with your mind in the self-lust, imagination, and love of

earthly things, then therein (namely, in these Centres which yet work in you) you have such Temptation.

19. But if you will follow my child-like counsel, I tell you this, that when such Temptation doth arise in you, you must then imagine nothing else to yourself, save the bitter suffering and dying of our Lord, and consider his reproach and scorn, his contempt and poverty in this World, which he hath undergone and done for us poor men ; and resign your *desire* and whole will thereinto, that you would very *fain be comformable to his Image*, and with all unfeigned willingness follow him in his process [*Margin : Or, Way of life*], and patiently endure whatsoever is laid upon you to suffer, and that willingly for his love's sake ; and will be content to be abject, despised, in contempt and affliction, that you might but maintain and *keep this his Love in you*, and will no longer to yourself, but only what Christ willeth through you.

20. Dear Sir, I fear me, there is yet *somewhat* in you, that is *displeasing* to Christ, by reason whereof there is such strife in you, Christ willeth, that you should with him die to your own will, in his death, and arise in his will, and live with him ; and *Christ is at present in your soul, and striveth for your soul*.

21. Let all earthly will go, and resign up yourself wholly and fully ; let joy and sadness, comfort and conflict, be all one unto you ; and so you shall with Christ be a *Conqueror* over the World, Devil, Death, and Hell ; and at last find by experience what Christ hath been in you ; and wherefore this hath happened unto you, which hath been the process of all the children of Christ ; I speak out of Christian affection.

Dated on the day of Christ's going to his Suffering and Dying : ANN. DOM. 1623.

J. B.]

I.

DEAR Brother in our Saviour *Christ !* His Grace  
And Love premis'd in your afflictive Case,  
I have consider'd of it and have brought  
The Whole with Christian sympathetic Thought  
Before the Will of the Most High, to see  
What it would please Him to make known to me ;

II.

And, thereupon, I give you, Sir, to know,  
What a true Insight He was pleas'd to show  
Into the Cause and Cure of all your Grief  
And present Trial ; which I shall in brief 10  
Set down for a Memorial, and declare  
For you to ponder with a serious Care.

## III.

First, then, the Cause to which we must assign  
 Your strong Temptation, is the *Love Divine*,  
 The Goodness Supernatural, above  
 All Utt'rance, flowing from the God of Love,—  
 Seeking the creaturely and human Will,  
 To free it from Captivity to Ill.

## IV.

And, then, the Struggle with so Great a Grace  
 In human Will, refusing to embrace, 20  
 Tho' tender'd to it with a Love so pure,—  
 It seeks itself and strives against a Cure.  
 From his own Love to transitory Things,  
 More than to GOD, the real Evil springs.

## V.

'Tis Man's own Nature, which in its own Life,  
 Or Centre, stands in Enmity and Strife,  
 And anxious, selfish, doing what it lists,  
 (Without God's Love) that tempts him, and resists ;  
 The Devil also shoots his fiery Dart,  
 From Grace and Love to turn away the Heart. 30

## VI.

This is the greatest Trial ; 'tis the Fight  
 Which *Christ*, with His internal Love and Light.  
 Maintains within Man's Nature, to dispel  
 God's Anger, Satan, Sin, and Death, and Hell ;  
 The human Self, or Serpent, to devour,  
 And raise an Angel from it by His Pow'r.

VII.

Now if God's Love in Christ did not subdue  
In some Degree this Selfishness in you,  
You would have no such Combat to endure ;  
The Serpent, then, triumphantly secure, 40  
Would unoppos'd exert its native Right,  
And no such Conflict in your Soul excite.

VIII.

For all the huge Temptation and Distress  
Rises in Nature, tho' God seeks to bless ;  
The Serpent feeling its tormenting State,  
(Which of itself is a mere anxious Hate,)  
When God's amazing Love comes in, to fill  
And change the selfish to a God-like Will.

IX.

Here *Christ*, the Serpent-bruise, stands in Man,  
Storming the Devil's hellish, self-built Plan ; 50  
And hence the Strife within the human Soul,—  
*Satan's* to kill, and *Christ's* to make it whole ;  
As by Experience, in so great Degree,  
God in His Goodness causes you to see.

X.

Now, while the Serpent's Head is bruise'd, the Heel  
Of Christ is stung, and the poor Soul must feel  
Trembling and Sadness, while the Strivers cope,  
And can do nothing but stand still in Hope ;  
Hardly be able to lift up its Face,  
For mere Concern, and pray to God for Grace. 60

## XI.

The Serpent, turning it another Way,  
Shows it the World's alluring, fine Display ;  
Mocking its Resolution to forego,  
For a *new Nature*, the engaging Show ;  
And represents the taking its Delight  
In present Scenes as natural and right.

## XII.

Thus, in the Wilderness with *Christ* alone,  
The Soul endures Temptation of its own ;  
While all the Glories of this World display'd,  
Pleasures and Poms, surround it, and persuade  
Not to remain so humble and so still,  
But elevate itself in own Self-will.

70

## XIII.

The next Temptation, which befalls of Course  
From Satan and from Nature's selfish Force,  
Is, when the Soul has tasted of the Love  
And been illuminated from Above ;  
Still in its Self-hood it would seek to shine,  
And as its own possess the Light Divine.

## XIV.

That is, the soulish Nature,—take it right,  
As much a Serpent, if without God's Light,  
As *Lucifer*,—this Nature still would claim  
For *own Propriety* the Heav'nly Flame,  
And elevate its Fire to a Degree  
Above the Light's Good Pow'r, which cannot be.

80

XV.

This domineering Self, this Nature-Fire,  
Must be transmuted to a Love-Desire.  
Now, when this Change is to be undergone,  
It looks for some own Pow'r, and, finding none,  
Begins to doubt of Grace, unwilling quite  
To yield up its self-willing Nature's Right. 90

XVI.

It ever quakes for Fear, and will not die  
In Light Divine, tho' to be blest thereby :  
The Light of Grace it thinks to be Deceit,  
Because it worketh gently without Heat ;  
Mov'd too by outward Reason, which is blind,  
And of itself sees nothing of this Kind.

XVII.

Who knows, it thinketh, whether it be true  
That God is in thee, and enlightens too ?  
Is it not Fancy ? For thou dost not see  
Like other People, who as well as thee 100  
Hope for Salvation by the Grace of God,  
Without such Fear and Trembling at his Rod.

XVIII.

Thus the poor Soul, accounted for a Fool  
By all the Reas'ners of a gayer School,  
By all the graver People who embrace  
Mere verbal Promises of future Grace,  
Sighs from its deep internal Ground, and pants  
For such enlight'ning Comfort as it wants ;

## XIX.

And fain would have,—but Nature can, alas !  
Do Nothing of itself to bring to pass,— 110  
And is thro' its own Impotence afraid  
That God rejects it, and will give no Aid ;  
Which with regard to the Self-will is true ;  
For God rejects it, to implant a new.

## XX.

The own Self-will must die away and shine,  
Rising thro' Death, in Saving Will Divine ;  
And from the Opposition which it tries  
Against God's Will such great Temptations rise ;  
The Devil too is loth to lose his Prey,  
And see his Fort cast down, if it obey. 120

## XXI.

For, if the Life of *Christ* within arise,  
Self-Lust and false Imagination dies,—  
Wholly, it cannot in this present Life,  
But by the Flesh maintains the daily Strife,—  
Dies, and yet lives ; as they alone can tell  
In whom *Christ* fights against the Pow'rs of Hell.

## XXII.

The third Temptation is in Mind and Will,  
And Flesh and Blood, if Satan enter still ;  
Where the false Centres lie in Man, the Springs  
Of Pride and Lust, and Love of earthly Things, 130  
And all the Curses wish'd by other Men,  
Which are occasion'd by this Devil's Den.

XXIII.

These in the Astral Spirit make a Fort,  
Which all the Sins concentre to support ;  
And human Will, esteeming for its Joy  
What *Christ*, to save it, combats to destroy,  
Will not resign the Pride-erected Tow'r,  
Nor live obedient to the Saviour's Pow'r.

XXIV.


Thus I have giv'n you, loving Sir, to know  
What our Dear Saviour has been pleas'd to show 140  
To my Consideration. Now, on This  
Examine well what your Temptation is !  
We must "leave all, and follow Him," He said,  
Right Christ-like poor, like our Redeeming Head.

XXV.

Now, if Self-Lust stick yet upon your Mind,  
Or Love of earthly Things of any Kind,  
Then, from those Centres in their working Force  
Such a Temptation will rise up of Course.  
If you will follow, when it does arise,  
My Child-like Counsel, hear what I advise ! 150

XXVI.

Fix your whole Thought upon the bitter Woe  
Which our Dear Lord was pleas'd to undergo ;  
Consider the Reproach, Contempt, and Scorn,  
The worldly State so poor and so forlorn,  
Which He was so content to bear ; and then,  
His suff'ring, dying for us sinful Men.



## XXVII.

And thereunto give up your whole Desire  
And Mind, and Will, and earnestly aspire  
To be as like Him as you can ; to bear  
(And with a Patience bent to persevere) 160  
All that is laid upon you, and to make  
His Process yours, and purely for His Sake ;

## XXVIII.

For Love of Him, most freely to embrace  
Contempt, Affliction, Poverty, Disgrace,—  
All that may happen, so you may but gain  
His Blessèd Love within you, and maintain ;  
No longer willing with a Self-desire,  
But such as *Christ* within you shall inspire !

## XXIX.

Dear Sir, I fear lest something still amiss,  
Averse to Him, cause such a Strife as this. 170  
He wills you, in His Death, with Him to die  
To your own Will, and to arise thereby  
In His Arising, and that Life to live  
Which He is striving in your Soul to give.

## XXX.

Let go all earthly Will, and be resign'd  
Wholly to Him with all your Heart and Mind !  
Be Joy or Sorrow, Comfort or Distress,  
Receiv'd alike, for He alike can bless,  
To gain the Victory of Christian Faith  
Over the World and all Satanic Wrath ! 180

XXXI.

So shall you conquer Death and Hell and Sin,  
And find, at last, what *Christ* in you hath been.  
By sure Experience will be understood  
How all hath happen'd to you for your Good.  
Of all His Children this hath been the Way ;  
And Christian Love here dictates what I say.

ON RESIGNATION.

A FRAGMENT.

[See Byrom's *Shorthand Journal*, May 14th, 1736 : "I went to Dr. Hartley's after four, he was just going, and I stayed with his lady to drink coffee, we had a long lecture about shorthand, and I wrote out for her" [the lines which follow]. (*Remains*, ii. 40.)

According to a *MS.* note by "W. F." in a volume of Byrom's *Poems* in my possession, the ensuing *Fragment* was communicated to the writer of the note by John Baldwin, Esq., in whose possession was the original *MS.*, never printed, of the poem.

I have inserted these lines in connexion of subject, instead of in sequence of date. It is to be regretted that only a fragment should have been preserved of what could hardly but have proved a most pleasing hymn.]

I.

O HAPPY Resignation  
That rises by its fall ;  
That seeks no exaltation  
But wins by losing all ;

## II.

That conquers by complying,  
 Triumphant in its lot ;  
 That lives when it's a-dying,  
 And is when it is not !

6. *Triumphant*. This accentuation occasionally occurs in Shakspeare, though the more modern usage prevails. See *e.g.*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, iv. 8, 14-16 :  
 —“ Leap there, attire and all,  
 Through proofs of harness to my heart,  
 and there
- Ride on the parts triumphing.”  
 7. *A-dying*. As to the origin and use of this prefix, to which so many pathetic passages of English poetry are indebted, see Abbott, *Shakespearian Grammar* (edn. 1870), § 24.

## ON BEARING THE CROSS.

## A DIALOGUE.

## I.

TAKE up the Cross which thou has got,  
 For Love of CHRIST, and bear it not  
 As *Simon* of *Cyrene* did,  
 Compell'd to do as he was bid !

## II.

“ Pray, am not I, who cannot free  
 “ Myself, compell'd as much as he ?  
 “ I cannot shun it, and of Course  
 “ Must bear this heavy Cross by Force.”

3. *SIMON of CYRENE*. See *St. Mark*, xv. 21.

III.

What dost thou get then by Disgust  
At bearing that which bear thou must? 10  
Nothing abates the Force of Ill  
Like a *resign'd* and *patient* Will.

IV.

"'Tis true ; but how shall I obtain  
"Such an Abatement of my Pain ?  
"Compulsion tempts me to repine  
"At *Simon's* Case becoming mine."

V.

Look then at JESUS gone before ;  
Reflect on what thy SAVIOUR bore,--  
Bore, tho' He could have been set free :  
*Death* on the Cross, for *Love* of Thee !

VI.

" He did so.—LORD, what shall I say ?  
Do Thou enable me to pray,  
If 'tis not possible to shun  
This bitter Cross, 'Thy Will be done !' "

---

A SOLILOQUY ON THE CAUSE AND CONSEQUENCES OF A DOUBTING MIND.

[Although this "Soliloquy" is possibly a reproduction of some passage or passages in the writings of Law, or of Böhme, which I have not succeeded in discovering, the substance of its argument is more or less explicitly to be found in Law's *Appeal to all that Doubt*, &c. (*Works*, vol. vi.) The position from which the "Soliloquy" starts, is there (pp. 18

*seqq.*) stated in a passage beginning with the following sentences : "It is impossible that this World, in the State and Condition it is now in, should have been an *immediate* and *Original* Creation of God : This is as impossible, as that God should create Evil, either *Natural* or *Moral* . . . All Storms and Tempests, every Fierceness of Heat, every Wrath of Cold, prove with the *same Certainty* that outward Nature is not a *first Work* of God, as the *Selfishness, Envy, Pride, Wrath, and Malice* of Devils or Man prove, that they are not in the *first State* of their Creation." The general view here taken of the Fall of Man is developed by Law in the treatise cited, in the *Spirit of Prayer*, and in other of his writings.

Byrom's verses are not among the most lucid of his adaptations (see *e.g.* stanza v.), and they conclude with a turn of phrase which, though systematically correct, must be described as undesigned bathos.]

## I.

I MUSE, I doubt, I reason, and debate ;—  
 Therefore, I am not in that perfect State  
 In which, when its Creation first began,  
 God plac'd His Own Belovèd Image, Man ;  
 From whose high Birth, at once design'd for all,  
 This ever-poring Reason proves a Fall.

## II.

Whilst *Adam* stood in that immortal Life,  
 Wherein pure Truth excluded Doubt and Strife,  
 He knew, he saw, by a Diviner Light,  
 All that was good for Knowledge or for Sight. 10  
 But when the Serpent-Subtlety of Hell  
 Brought him to doubt, and reason,—then he fell.

## III.

Fell,—by declining from an upright Will,  
 And sunk into a State of Good and Ill.

The very State of such a World as this  
Became a Death to his immortal Bliss,—  
Bliss, which his Reason gave him not before  
The Loss ensued, nor after could restore.

IV.

From him desending, all the human Race  
Must needs partake the Nature of his Case ; 20  
Just as the Trunk, the Branches, or the Fruit,  
Derive their Substance from the parent Root.  
What Life or Death into the Father came,  
The Sons, tho' guiltless, could but have the same.

V.

If I am one, if ever I must live  
The blissful Life which God design'd to give,  
As Reason dictates, or as some Degree  
Of higher Light enables one to see,—  
It cannot rise from being born on Earth  
Without a second, new, and Heav'nly Birth. 30

VI.

The Gospel-Doctrine, which assures to Men  
The joyful Truth of being "born again,"  
Demands the free Consent of ev'ry Will  
That seeks the Good, and to escape the Ill ;  
In all the sav'd right Reason must allow  
Such Birth effected, tho' it knows not how.

VII.

Such was the Faith in Life's Redeeming Seed,  
Of poor fall'n Man the Comfort and the Creed ;  
Such was the Hope before and since the Flood,  
In ev'ry Time and Place, of all the good ; 40

Till the *new Birth* of JESUS from above  
Reveal'd below the Mystery of Love.

## VIII.

His Virgin Birth, Life, Death and Re-ascent  
Explain what all God's Dispensations meant.  
God give me Grace to shun the doubting Crime,  
Since nothing follows intermediate Time  
But Life or Death, eternally to rule  
A *blessèd* Christian, or a *cursèd* Fool!

45. *The doubting Crime.* The crime of doubt.

---

## A PLAIN ACCOUNT OF THE NATURE AND DESIGN OF TRUE RELIGION.

[There are thoughts in this *Plain Account* which might perhaps be paralleled from Law's *Practical Treatise upon Christian Perfection* (*Works*, vol. iii.), especially from the passages (pp. 167 *seqq.*) commenting on the text "Blessed are the Poor in Spirit, for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven" (*St. Matthew*, v. 3). What precedes the concluding stanza is one more reproduction of Law's teaching on Regeneration.]

## I.

"WHAT is Religion?"—Why, it is a Cure  
Giv'n in the Gospel *gratis* to the Poor  
By *Jesus Christ*, the Healer of the Soul ;  
Which all who take are sure to be made whole ;  
And they who will not, all the Art of Man  
May strive to cure them, but it never can.

II.

“Care for what Malady?”—For that of Sin,  
From whence all other Maladies begin.  
It had its Rise in *Adam* first of all ;  
And all his Sons, partaking of his Fall, 10  
Want a *new Adam* to beget them free  
From *Sin* and *Death* ; and *Jesus Christ* is *He*.

III.

“How it is giv’n?”—By raising a *new Birth*  
Of Heav’nly Life, surviving that of Earth ;  
Which may at any Time,—at some it must,—  
Return its mortal Body to the Dust ;  
And then the Born of *God* in *Christ* again  
Will rise immortal, true angelic Men.

IV.

“Why in the Gospel?”—Gospel is, indeed,  
In its true living Sense, the *Holy Seed*, 20  
By God’s great Mercy first in *Adam* sown,  
And first in *Christ* to full Perfection grown,—  
Fulness, from which all holy Souls derive,  
And Bodies too, the Pow’r to be alive.

V.

“Why GRATIS giv’n?”—Because the *Love-desire*  
Of God, in *Christ*, can never work for Hire.

20 *seqq.* The HOLY SEED, &c. (See fully expressed in some of Jacob Böhme’s  
1 *Corinthians*, xv. 42 *seqq.*) sayings concerning the nature of true

25. “Why GRATIS giv’n?” The faith. Cf. Hamberger, *Die Lehre des*  
thought of this stanza, which savours of *deutscher Philosophen Jakob Böhme* (1844),  
the essence of mysticism, is very power- p. 255.



Its Nature is to love for Loving's Sake,  
 To give itself to ev'ry Will to take ;  
 To them it brings amidst the darkest Night  
 Its *Life* and *Immortality to Light*.

30

## VI.

"Why to the Poor?"—Because *they* feel their Want,  
 Which Trust in *Riches* is so loth to grant.  
 The Rich have *something* which they call *their own* ;  
 The Poor have *nothing*, but to *Christ* alone  
 They owe Themselves, and pay Him what they owe,  
 And what Religion is They only know.

ON THE TRUE MEANING OF THE SCRIPTURE  
 TERMS "LIFE" AND "DEATH," WHEN  
 APPLIED TO MEN.

[These stanzas are designed to recall Law's teaching as to the true significance of the Fall and the Redemption for Adam and his posterity. Adam, created in the likeness of the Tri-une God, lost "that Tri-une Life, in which alone the Holy Trinity of Divine Love can dwell" (*Appeal to all that Doubt*, p. 177 ; *Law's Works*, vol. vi.). When Adam fell, he lost "both the conditions of his created State," viz. "to be himself a glorious, living, eternal Image of the Holy Tri-une God, and to be a *Father* of a new World of like Beings." Therefore, "that which was to be *undone* and *altered*, both in himself and his Posterity, was this, it was to part with a *Life* that he had raised up into Being, and to get *another Life*, which he had quite extinguished" (*ib.*, pp. 183-4). Christ is accordingly "the *Regenerator* or Raiser of a new Birth in us, because he enters a second Time into the Life of the Soul, that his own Nature and Likeness may be again generated in it" (*ib.*, p. 45 ; see also *The Spirit of Love*, Part I. p. 12, *Works*, vol. viii. : "Christ had never come into the World as

a Second *Adam* to redeem it, had he not been originally the *Life*, and *Perfection*, and *Glory* of the First *Adam*;" and cf. *ib.*, Part ii. pp. 97 *seqq.*, the comment on the text (*1 Corinthians*, xv. 22): "As in *Adam* all die, so in *Christ* shall all be made alive.")]

I.

TRUE *Life*, according to the Scripture Plan,  
Is God's Own Likeness in His Image, Man.  
This was the *Life* that *Adam* ceas'd to live,  
Or lost by Sin, and therefore could not give ;  
So that his Offspring, all the born on Earth,  
Want a *New* Parent of this Heav'nly Birth.

II.

This, *Christ* alone, God's *Image* Most *Express*,  
The *Second Adam*, gives them to possess,—  
Becoming Man, reversing human Fall,  
And raising up the *First*, True *Life* in all ; 10  
Healing our Nature's deadly Wound within,  
And quenching Wrath, or Death, or Hell, or Sin.

III.

For all such Words describe one evil Thing,  
Or Want of Good, that has one only Spring,—  
The *Love* of God in *Christ*, which form'd at first  
A *blessèd Adam* and redeem'd a *curst*  
By his *own* Act ; Good *only* was design'd  
For *Adam*, and in him for all Mankind.

IV.

He fell from Good, misusing his free Will,

16-17. A *CURST* by his OWN Act. One *fix'd* his Will to be *absolutely* and *eternally*  
whom his own act had made to be accursed. what he was, had he desired only to eat  
19. *Misusing his free Will*. "Had he of the Tree of *Life*, to live by the Word

Into this World, this Life of Good and Ill ; 20  
 From whence the willing to be sav'd revive,  
 Thro' Faith and Penitence in *Christ* alive.  
 A *second* Death succeeds, if they refuse ;  
 For *choosing* Creatures must have what they *choose*.

## V.

For bare *Existence*, when we go from hence,  
 Is *Immortality* in Scripture Sense ;  
 For thus alike immortal are confest  
 The good, the bad,—the ruin'd and the blest ;  
 Whose *inbred* Tempers hint the Reason why  
 They *live* for ever, or for ever *die*. 30

## VI.

God's Likeness, Light and Spirit in the Soul  
 Make, as at first, its blest, immortal Whole.  
 'Tis Death to want them. Vain is all Dispute ;  
 The Gospel only reaches to the Root.  
 All the inspir'd have understood it thus :  
 "Immortal *Life* is that of CHRIST *in Us*."

of God, he had been establish'd and confirm'd to be an eternal Angel, or divine Man. But . . . his own *strong Will* (a Spark of the Divine Omnipotence) was to be his *Maker* ; for he could not be an Angel of Light with less Freedom. What he desired, that he had : as his Imagination work'd, so he became to be." (*Answer to Dr. Trapp*, pp. 31-2 ; *Law's Works*, vol. vi. ; cf. Overton, *William Law*, p. 255).

20. *Into this World*. "Adam, not aspiring to be above, or without God, by his own proud strength, but only lusting to enter into a *Sensibility* of the Good and Evil of the bestial Life of this World, he found *only* *That* which he sought, and fell into no *other State* or Misery than that

bestial Life, which his own Actions and desires had opened to him." (*The Spirit of Prayer*, Part I. p. 34 ; *Law's Works*, vol. vii.)

21. *The willing*. Those willing.

36. "*Immortal LIFE is that of CHRIST in us*." Cf. *Romans*, viii. 10 : "And if Christ be in you, the body is dead because of sin ; but the Spirit is life because of righteousness ;" and *Colossians*, iii. 3 : "For ye are dead, and your life is hid with Christ in God." Byrom's reference is, however, probably more directly to the "one Scripture Truth, which the blessed *Behmen* prefixed as a *Motto* to most of his Epistles, viz. *That our Salvation is in the Life of Jesus Christ in us*." (See *Law's Humble Address to the Clergy*, p. 29 in vol. ix. of his *Works*.)

ON THE GROUND OF TRUE AND  
FALSE RELIGION.

[See the *Introductory Note* to the preceding piece.]

I.

EXPLAIN Religion by a thousand Schemes,  
Still *God* and *Self* will be the two Extremes !  
In Him the one true Good of it is found ;  
In Self, of all Idolatry the Ground.  
False Worship, paid at all its various Shrines,  
One same Departure from His Love defines.

II.

By Love to Him *blest* Angels kept their State ;  
Which the *Apostate* lost by cursèd Hate ;  
Setting up *Self* in the ALMIGHTY'S Room,  
It sunk them down into its dreadful Gloom. 10  
On Separation from His Love, the Source  
Of all Felicity was lost, of Course.

III.

By Love to Him the first created Man  
Was highly blest till *Selfishness* began  
Thro' Serpentine Delusion to arise,  
And tempt above God's Wisdom to be wise.  
When he had chosen to prefer his own,  
The naked, miserable *Self* was known.

8. *The APOSTATE.* The rebel angels. *On the Cause, Consequence and Cure of*  
12. *Of course.* Inevitably. Cf. *infra*, *Spiritual Pride*, l. 35.

## IV.

Hence we inherit such a Life as this,  
 Dead of itself to *Paradisiac* Bliss ; 20  
 Hence, all our Hopes of a Diviner Birth  
 Depend on *Christ* and His Descent on Earth ;  
 Subduing Self, as *Adam* should have done,  
 And loving God thro' His Belovèd Son ;—

## V.

The *Mediator* betwixt God and Men,  
 Who brings their Nature back to Him again,  
 Sav'd from all sinful Self, or deadly Wrath,  
 Or hellish Evil, by the Pow'r of *Faith*  
 Working by *Love*, of which It is the Strength,  
 And must attain the Full, True Life at Length. 30

## VI.

Born of this Holy *Virgin*-Seed Divine  
 To a *new* Life within this mortal Shrine,  
 The faithful breathe a Spirit from above,  
 And make of Self a Sacrifice to Love.  
 By *Christ* redeem'd, they rise from *Adam's* Fall,  
 From Earth to Heav'n, where God is All in All.

23. *Subduing Self.* We, or each of us,  
 accordingly, subduing self.

30. *And must attain.* So that it (human  
 nature) attains. (A faulty construction.)

---

ON THE CAUSE, CONSEQUENCE AND  
 CURE OF SPIRITUAL PRIDE.

[I am not aware that the figure elaborated in these stanzas is taken from Law. Possibly, however, such was the case, since this kind of simile was not altogether foreign to his manner. See the well-known

illustration of the needle and the loadstone in *A Demonstration of the Gross Errors of "A Plain Account of the Nature and End of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper"* (*Works*, vol. v.); that of the lump of ice in the *Answer to Dr. Trapp*, p. 15 (*Works*, vol. vi.), and that of the stinking and the odoriferous gum in Part ii. of *The Spirit of Love*, p. 43 (*ib.*, vol. viii.).]

I.

SUPPOSE an Heater burning in the Fire  
To be alive, to will and to desire,  
To reason, feel and have upon the whole  
What we will call "an understanding Soul,"—  
Conscious of pow'rful Heat within its Mould,  
And Colour bright above the burnish'd Gold!

II.

Suppose that *Pride* should catch this Heater's Heart,  
And from the Fire persuade it to depart;  
To show itself, and make it to be known  
That it can raise a Splendour of its own,—  
An own rich Colour, an own potent Heat,  
Without Dependence on the Fire complete!

III.

It leaves, in Prospect of so fine a Show,  
The fiery Bosom where it learnt to glow;  
Cools by Degrees, till all its golden Hue  
Is vanish'd, and its Pow'r of heating too.  
Its own, once hidden, Nature domineers,  
And the dark, cold, self-iron Lump appears.

1. *An Heater burning in the Fire.* The both A and B; though of course one might  
old-fashioned usage of heating a fire, or read: "to be alive to will and to desire,"  
water in an urn, by a ball or longish lump construing these two words as substantives.  
of iron, is not yet absolutely extinct. 18. *Self-iron.* Internally or inherently  
2. *To be alive, to will and to desire.* So iron. I cannot find a Shakspearean adjec-

## IV.

Transfer this feign'd, imaginary Pride  
 To that which really does too oft betide, 20  
 When human Souls, endued with Grace Divine,  
 Become ambitious of themselves to shine,  
 And, proud of Qualities which Grace bestows,  
 Forsake Its Bosom for self-shining Shows;

## V.

And thence conceive the natural Effects  
 Of Pride in either single Men or Sects,  
 That for Variety of selfish Strife  
 Forsake the One, True Cause of all true Life,—  
 The Heav'nly Spirit-fire of Love, within  
 Whose Sacred Bosom all their Gifts begin ; 30

## VI.

From which, if Reason, Learning, Wit, or Parts,  
 Tempt their Ambition to withdraw their Hearts,  
 There must ensue, whatever they may mean,  
 The Disappearance of the glowing Scene,  
 From the most gifted vanishing of Course,  
 When dis-united from its Real Source!

## VII.

As only Fire can possibly restore  
 The Heater's Force to what it was before ;  
 So That of Love alone consumes the Dross  
 Of wrathful Nature, and repairs its Loss ; 40  
 It will again unite with all Desire,  
 That casts itself into the Holy Fire.

tive formed quite analogously ; but "self-bounty," "self-mettle" are substantives compounded on the same principle.

39. *That of Love.* The fire of Love.

40. *Wrathful Nature.* Nature in a state of wrath or sin.

## THE BEGGAR AND THE DIVINE.

[The prose passage, on which the following verses are no doubt founded, is printed in the *Appendix* to vol. i. of *The Life of Lady Guion, &c., abridged and translated into English*, 2 vols., Bristol, 1772, pp. 235-6, under the heading prefixed to it below.

Byrom was naturally much interested in Tauler. In his *Journal*, February 16th, 1739, he mentions his telling "a young fellow," whom he had met in the company of John Wesley, but who differed from the latter in owing to a liking for the mystics, that his (Wesley's) "famous Luther said great things of Taulerus, which he seemed not to know, and to be moved with." (*Remains*, ii. 229; cf. *ib.*, ii. 363, as to the circumstances of Law's first acquaintance with the writings of Tauler.) Tauler's *Sermons* and *Collected Works* are in Byrom's Library in two (Latin) copies, together with an English Translation "from the High-Dutch" of his *Evangelical Poverty exemplified in the Life of our Blessed Saviour and his Apostles*, and extracts from him in Blossius' *Epitome Vitæ Jesu Christi*. The teaching of Tauler, to which Byrom briefly refers in the concluding lines of this poem, is above all laid down in his chief work, the *Imitation of the Poor Life of Christ*. I suspect that the following *Discourse* is a version of the famous "*historia*" *Of a Doctor of the Holy Scriptures and a Layman*, which Byrom himself had at one time thought of paraphrasing in English verse. (See *Remains*, ii. 168.) As to this most interesting piece, and its significance in Tauler's career see C. Schmidt, *Johannes Tauler von Strassburg* (Hamburg, 1841), pp. 25 *seqq.* But the identity of the layman with Nicholas of Basel, the chief of the Swiss *Friends of God*, is of course entirely put aside in this anecdote of the Beggar.

### "DISCOURSE OF DR. TAULERUS AND THE BEGGAR.

"A Great Divine prayed to GOD, during the space of eight years, that he would be graciously pleased to direct him to a man who might teach him the true way to heaven. It was said to him at length, 'Go to such a church porch, and there thou shalt find a man, who will instruct thee in the spiritual life.' Accordingly he went, and found a poor beggar very meanly clad. He saluted him in these words, 'God give you a good day, my friend.' The poor man answered, 'Sir, I do not remember that I ever had an evil day.' The doctor said to him, 'GOD give you a good and happy life,' 'Why say you that?' replied the beggar; 'I never was unhappy.' 'GOD bless you, my

friend,' said the doctor ; ' pray tell me what you mean.' He replied, ' That I shall willingly do. I told you first, I never had an evil day : for when I have hunger, I praise GOD ; if it rain, hail, snow or freeze, be it fair or foul, or if I am despised or ill-used, I return GOD thanks ; so never had an ill day. Nor have I ever been unhappy, since I have learned always to resign myself to his will, being very certain of this, that all his works are perfectly good. And therefore I never desire anything else but the good pleasure of GOD.' Then said the doctor, ' But what, if the good pleasure of GOD should be to cast you hence into hell ? ' ' If he would do so,' replied the other, I have two arms to embrace him with ; the one whereof is a profound humility, by which I am united to his holy humanity ; the other is love or charity, which joins me to his divinity. Embraced with these two arms, he would descend with me thither, if thither he ordered me. And there I had infinitely rather be with him, than in paradise without him.' Hereby the doctor learned that a true resignation to the divine will, accompanied with profound humility of heart, is the shortest way to attain GOD's love.

" After that, he asked him again from whence he came. The poor man answered, ' GOD sent him.' The doctor enquired of him, where he found GOD. He replied, ' I found him, when I had renounced all the creatures.' ' And where did you leave him ? ' said the doctor. He replied, ' With the poor in spirit, the pure of heart, and men of charity.' ' But who are you ? ' says the divine. ' I am a King,' says the beggar. ' Where is your Kingdom ? ' says the former. ' In my soul,' says the latter ; ' I have learned to bring into subjection and to govern my senses, as well outward as inward, with my affections and passions, which Kingdom is undoubtedly superior to all the Kingdoms of this world.' The doctor then asked him by what means he had attained to such perfection ? He answered, ' By silence, vigilance, meditation, prayer, and the union I had with GOD. I could find no sure repose or comfort in any creature of the world, by means whereof I found out my GOD, who will comfort me, world without end. *Amen.*" ]

IN some good Books one reads of a Divine  
 Whose memorable Case deserves a Line ;  
 Who, to serve God the best and shortest Way,  
 Pray'd for eight Years together every Day,  
 That in the Midst of Doctrines and of Rules,  
 However taught and practis'd by the Schools,  
 He would be pleas'd to bring him to a Man  
 Prepar'd to teach him the compendious Plan.

He was himself a *Doctor*, and well-read  
 In all the Points to which Divines were bred.  
 Nevertheless, he thought, that what concern'd  
 The most illiterate as well as learn'd

To know and practise, must be something still  
More independent on such kind of Skill ;  
True Christian Worship had within its Root  
Some simpler Secret, clear of all Dispute ;  
Which, by a living Proof that he might know,  
He pray'd for some Practitioner to show.

One Day, possess'd with an intense Concern  
About the Lesson which he sought to learn, 20  
He heard a Voice that sounded in his Ears :  
"Thou has been praying for a Man eight Years ;  
Go to the Porch of yonder Church, and find  
A Man prepar'd according to thy Mind."

Away he went to the appointed Ground ;  
When at the Entrance of the Church he found  
A poor old Beggar, with his Feet full sore  
And not worth Two-pence all the Clothes he wore.  
Surpris'd to see an Object so forlorn,  
'My Friend,' said he, 'I wish thee a good Morn.' 30  
"Thank thee," replied the Beggar, "but a bad  
I don't remember that I ever had."  
'Sure, he mistakes,' the Doctor thought, 'the Phrase ;  
Good Fortune, Friend, befall thee all thy Days !'  
"Me, said the Beggar, many Days befall,  
But none of them unfortunate at all."  
'God bless thee ; answer plainly, I request.'  
"Why, plainly then, I never was unblest."

22. Thou hast.—B.

22. *Thou has.* I am unwilling to alter Byrom has so felicitously reproduced.  
the old-fashioned false concord, which 33. *The Phrase.* The conventional  
suits the quaintness of the narrative which phrase : "I wish thee a good morning."

'Never? Thou speakest in a mystic Strain,  
Which more at large I wish thee to explain.'—

40

"With all my Heart.—Thou first did condescend  
To wish me kindly a good Morning, Friend ;  
And I replied, that I remember'd not  
A bad one ever to have been my Lot.  
For, let the Morning turn out how it will,  
I praise my God for ev'ry new one still.  
If I am pinch'd with Hunger or with Cold,  
It does not make me to let go my Hold.  
Still I praise God ; Hail, Rain, or Snow, I take  
This blessed Cordial, which has Pow'r to make  
The foulest Morning to my Thinking fair ;  
For Cold and Hunger yield to Praise and Pray'r.  
Men pity me as wretched, or despise ;  
But whilst I hold this noble Exercise,  
It cheers my Heart to such a due Degree,  
That ev'ry Morning is still good to me.

50

"Thou didst, moreover, wish me lucky Days,  
And I, by reason of continual Praise,  
Said that I had none else ; for, come what would  
On any Day, I knew it must be good,  
Because God sent it ; Sweet or Bitter, Joy  
Or Grief, by this Angelical Employ  
Of praising Him my Heart was at its Rest,  
And took whatever happen'd for the best ;  
So that my own Experience might say,  
It never knew of an unlucky Day.

60

39. *Thou speakest in a mystic Strain.* The "great Divine," of course, uses this expression in no technical sense; or he might even have said: "in a quietist strain."  
54. *Whilst I hold this noble Exercise.* Whilst I continue this noble discipline, or practice, of praising God. Cf. *Exercitia D. Joan. Thauleri.*

“Then didst thou pray, ‘God bless thee,’ and I said  
I never was unblest. For, being led  
By the Good Spirit of Imparted Grace  
To praise His Name, and ever to embrace 70  
His Righteous Will, regarding That Alone  
With total Resignation of my own,  
I never could in such a State as this  
Complain for want of Happiness or Bliss,—  
Resolv’d in all Things that the Will Divine,  
The Source of all true Blessing, should be mine.”

The Doctor, learning from the Beggar’s Case  
Such wond’rous Instance of the Pow’r of Grace,  
Propos’d a Question, with Intent to try  
The happy Mendicant’s direct Reply : 80  
‘What wouldst thou say,’ said he, ‘should God think fit  
To cast thee down to the infernal Pit?’

“He cast me down? He send me into Hell?  
No! He loves me, and I love Him too well.  
But put the Case He should, I have two Arms  
That will defend me from all hellish Harms,—  
The one, Humility; the other, Love.  
These I would throw below Him, and above;  
One under His *Humanity* I’d place,  
His *Deity* the other should embrace; 90  
With both together so to hold Him fast,  
That I should *go* wherever He would *cast*;—  
And then, whatever thou shalt call the Sphere,—  
Hell, if thou wilt,—’tis Heav’n if He be there.”

85. *But put the Case.* A favourite phrase of Robert Browning’s, who might conceivably himself not have disdained to versify the pregnant dialogue between the great doctor and his simple instructor.

92. *Wherever he would CAST.* Wherever he would turn. Or perhaps we should read: “That I should *go* wherever he would cast,” *i.e.*, cast me; cf. *ante*, l. 83: “He cast me down?”

Thus was a great Divine, whom some have thought  
 To be the justly-fam'd *Taulerius*, taught  
 The Holy Art,—for which he us'd to pray ;  
 That to serve God the most compendious Way  
 Was to hold fast a loving, humble Mind,  
 Still praising Him and to His Will resign'd. 100

---

### FRAGMENT OF AN HYMN ON THE GOODNESS OF GOD.

[“ We bless thee for our creation, preservation and all the blessings of this life ; but above all, for thine inestimable love in the redemption of the world by our Lord Jesus Christ ; for the means of grace, and for the hope of glory.” (*General Thanksgiving.*)

The Divine scheme of Salvation is here described in the diction of Law's principal treatises on Regeneration, to which it is unnecessary to refer again in particular.]

#### I.

○ GOODNESS of God, more exceedingly great  
 Than Thought can conceive, or than Words can repeat !  
 Whatsoever we fix our Conceptions upon,  
 It has some Kind of Bounds, but Thy Goodness has none.  
 As It never began, so It never can end,  
 But to all Thy Creation will always extend ;  
 All Nature partakes of its proper Degree,  
 But the Self-blinded Will that refuses to see.

#### II.

Whensoever new Forms of Creation began,  
 Thy Goodness adjusted the Beautiful Plan ; 10

2. *Repeat.* As to the pronunciation cf. *note*, p. 12, *ante*.

8. *But.* Except.

Adjusted the Beauties of Body and Soul,  
And plac'd in the Centre the Good of the whole,  
That shone like a Sun the Circumference round,  
To produce all the Fruits of Beatified Ground ;  
To display in each possible Shape and Degree  
A Goodness Eternal, Essential to Thee.

III.

Blest Orders of Angels surrounded thy Throne,  
Before any Evil was heard of or known ;  
Till a Self-seeking Chief's unaccountable Pride  
Thine Immutable Rectitude falsely belied ;  
And, despising the Goodness that made him so bright,  
Would become independent and be his own Light,  
And induc'd all his Host to so monstrous a Thing  
As to act against Nature's Omnipotent King.

IV.

Then did Evil begin, or the Absence of Good,  
Which from Thee could not come,—from a Creature it could,  
Who, made in thy Likeness, all happy and free,  
Could only be good as an Image of Thee.  
When an Angel profan'd his angelical Trust,  
And departed from Order, most Righteous and Just,

17. *Blest Orders of Angels.* See *Revelations*, v. 11 : "And I beheld, and I heard the voice of many angels round about the throne and the beasts and the elders : and the number of them was ten thousand times ten thousand, and thousands of thousands."

H. Cornelius Agrippa, *De Occultâ Philosophiâ* (1531), lib. iii. cap. xvii., distinguishes three hierarchies and nine orders of angels. Thomas Heywood, in his *Hierarchy of the Blessed Angels* (1637), typifies each of the nine orders, to which

he successively devotes a book of his poem, in a representative angel.

19, 20. *Till a Self-seeking Chief's unaccountable Pride,*

*Thine Immutable Rectitude falsely belied.*

These lines are more obscure in phraseology than is common with Byrom. The "unaccountable Pride" of Lucifer seems to mean the pride which would not allow itself to be called to account; while its "bellying" the immutable rectitude of God, must refer to the aspersions which Lucifer cast upon it.

Self-depriv'd of the Light, that proceeds from Thy Throne,  
He fell to the Darkness, by Nature his own.

## V.

For Nature itself is a Darkness express,  
If a Splendour from Thee does not fill it and bless,—  
An Abyss of the Pow'rs of all *creaturely* Life,  
Which are in themselves but an impotent Strife  
Of Action, Re-action and Whirling around,  
Till the Rays of Thy Light pierce the jarring Profound ;  
Till Thy Goodness compose the dark, natural Storm,  
And enkindle the Bliss of Light, Order, and Form. 40

## VI.

Thy Unchangeable Goodness, when Wrath was begun,  
Soon as e'er It beheld what an Angel had done,  
Exerted Itself in restoring anew  
A Celestial Abode and Inhabitants too ;  
Made a temporal World in the desolate Place,  
And Thy Likeness, a Man, to produce a new Race ;  
That the Evil brought forth might in Time be suppress,  
And a new Host of Creatures succeed to be blest.

## VII.

When the Man, whom Thy Counsel design'd to have stood,  
Fell into this Mixture of Evil and Good, 50  
And, against Thy Kind Warning, consented to taste  
Of the Fruit that would lay his own *Paradise* waste :  
Thy Mercy then sought his Redemption from Sin,  
And implanted the Hope of a *Saviour* within,—

40. Enkindles.—A. and B.

32. *He fell to the Darkness, by Nature* "son of the morning" who "fell down  
*his own.* A fine thought, as developed in from heaven." (*Isaiah*, xiv. 12.)  
the succeeding stanza, but perhaps too bold 49. *To have stood.* To have endured  
in, its actual connexion, as applied to a as he was created.

Of a Man to be born, in the Fulness of Time,  
To supply his Defect and abolish his Crime.

VIII.

All the Hopes of good Men, since the Ruin began,  
Were deriv'd from the Grace of This Wonderful Man.  
His Life, in the Promise, has secretly wrought  
Its Intended Effect in their penitent Thought, 60  
Who believ'd in Thy Word, in whatever Degree  
They knew, or knew not, how His coming would be.  
A true Faith in a Saviour was one and the same,  
Both before His Blest Coming, as after He came.

IX.

*Patriarchal, Mosaic, prophetical Views,*  
The Desire of all Nations, or *Gentiles* or *Jews*,  
Who obey'd in the midst of their natural Fall  
The Degree of His Light Which enlighten'd them all,  
Still centred in Him, the MESSIAH, the Man  
Who should execute fully Thy Merciful Plan ; 70  
And impart the True Life, which Thy Goodness design'd  
By creating a Man to descend to Mankind.

X.

When This Son of Thy Love was Incarnate on Earth,  
And the WORD was made *Flesh* by a Virginal Birth,  
The Angelical Host usher'd in the great Morn,  
With the *Tidings* of Joy that a SAVIOUR was born,—

57 *seqq.* *And the Hopes of good Men,*  
*since the Ruin began, &c.* Since the Fall,  
the faith in a Coming Redeemer, or in One  
Who had come, has been the saving faith  
of all good men.

58. *This Wonderful Man.* "And his  
name shall be called, Wonderful, &c."  
(*Isaiah*, ix. 6.)

64. *As.* And.

66. *The Desire of all Nations.* "And  
I will shake all nations, and the Desire of  
all nations shall come." (*Haggai*, ii. 7.)

74. *And the WORD was made FLESH.*  
"And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt  
among us." (*St. John*, i. 14.)

75. *Thy Angelical Host, &c.* (See *St.*  
*Luke*, i. 13.)

Of Joy to all People who round the whole Ball  
 Should partake of the Goodness That came to save all ;  
 To erect, upon Earth, a true Kingdom of Grace,  
 And of Glory to come, for whoe'er would embrace. 80

---

UNIVERSAL GOOD THE OBJECT OF THE DIVINE  
 WILL, AND EVIL THE NECESSARY EFFECT  
 OF THE CREATURE'S OPPOSITION TO IT.

[The leading thoughts of the following stanzas may perhaps be traced in *The Spirit of Love* (Law's *Works*, vol. viii.). See especially *Part I.*, p. 5 : "The Spirit of Love has this Original. God, as considered in himself, in his holy Being before anything is brought forth by him, or out of him, is only an eternal Will to all goodness ;" and *Part II.*, pp. 160 *seqq.*, where the author expounds his doctrine of Divine Election and Reprobation, as relating "not to any particular Number of People, or Division of Mankind, but solely to the two Natures that are, both of them, without Exception in every Individual of Mankind." See also the passage cited in the note to the concluding stanza of this poem. Law, in his turn, may have had in his mind passages of Jacob Böhme's *Signatura Rerum: Of the Election of Grace; or Of God's Will towards Man, commonly called Predestination*, printed in vol. iv. of his own English version of "the Teutonic Theosopher's" *Werks*.]

I.

THE God of Love, delighting to bestow,  
 Sends down His Blessing to the World below ;  
 A grateful Mind receives it, and above  
 Sends up Thanksgiving to the God of Love.  
 This happy Intercourse could never fail,  
 Did not a false, perverted Will prevail.

1. *The God of Love, delighting to bestow.* So 1 *Timothy*, vi. 17 : "the living God, who giveth us richly all things to enjoy."

II.

For Love Divine, as rightly understood,  
Is an Unalterable Will to Good,—  
Good in the Object of His Blessèd Will,  
Who never can concur to real Ill ; 10  
Much less “decree, predestinate, ordain,”—  
Words oft employ’d to take His Name in vain.

III.

“But He permits it to be done,” say you ;—  
Plain, then, I answer, that He does not *do* ;  
That, having will’d created Angels free,  
He still permits or wills them so to be.  
Were his Permission ask’d before they did  
An evil Action, He would soon forbid.

IV.

Before the Doing He forbids indeed,  
But disobedient Creatures take no heed. 20  
If He, according to your present Plea,  
Withdraws his Grace, and *so* they disobey,  
The Fault is laid on Him, not them at all ;  
For who can stand whom He shall thus let fall ?

V.

Our own Neglect must be the previous Cause,  
When it is said, “the Grace of God withdraws ;”—  
In the same Sense as when the brightest Dawn,  
If we will shut our Windows, is withdrawn ;  
Not that the Sun is ever the less bright,  
But that our Choice is not to see the Light. 30

21. *Plea.* Pronounce “play.” Cf. *Romeo and Juliet*, I. i. 137–8 :  
note, *ante*, p. 12. “Shuts up his windows, locks fair daylight

28. *If we will shut our windows.* The out,  
simile may have been borrowed from And makes himself an artificial night.”

## VI.

Free to receive the Grace, or to reject,  
*Receivers* only can be God's *elect* ;  
*Rejecters* of it *reprobate* alone  
 Not by Divine *Decree*, but by their *own*.  
 His Love to *all*, His Willing none to sin,  
 Is a Decree that never could begin.

## VII.

It is the Order, the Eternal Law,  
 The True Free Grace, that never can withdraw.  
 Observance of it will of course be blest,  
 And Opposition to it self-distrest ;  
 "To them who love its gracious Author, all  
 Will work for Good," according to St. *Paul*.

40

## VIII.

An easy Key to each abstruser Text  
 That modern Disputants have so perplext  
 With arbitrary Fancies on each Side,  
 From God's Pure Love or Man's Freewill denied ;  
 Which in the Breast of Saints, and Sinners too,  
 May both be found self-evidently true !

40. Opposition to it-self-distrest.—A.

41 *seqq.* *To them who love, &c.* "And we know that all things work together for good to them that love God, to them who are the called according to his purpose." (*Romans*, viii. 28.)

43 *seqq.* *An easy Key to each abstruser Text, &c.* Cf. Law Demonstration of the Errors of "A Plain Account of the Nature and End of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper" (*Works*, v. 106): "But if you know that these two things are written in the Frame of your Nature, that Evil and

Good, or the *Fall* and the *Redemption*, are at Strife within you, and that you want some Divine Assistance to help you to overcome the Evil that is in you, then the Gospel needs no external Evidence, because your Heart is a Witness of all the Truth of it. For you are then only doing that in a lower Degree, which the Gospel teaches and enables you to do in a more perfect and prevailing Manner."

46. *From God's Pure Love, &c.* Owing to the denial of God's Pure Love, &c.

## ON THE DISINTERESTED LOVE OF GOD.

[Although in his *Animadversions upon Dr. Trapp's Reply* Law mentions "the great Fénelon, Archbishop of Cambray" among the "mystical divines" studied by himself, and although Fénelon's doctrine of "disinterested love" commanded the entire adherence of the English mystic, yet Law's works contain hardly any references either to him or to Madam Guyon. Indeed, as Canon Overton points out, though there is "frequent allusion to Madame Guyon in the earlier interviews between Law and Byrom, the subject" of conversation "was obviously introduced by Byrom, who was attracted to her by her resemblance to his favourite, Madame Bourignon. . . . And yet one would have thought that both Fénelon's and Madame Guyon's writings would have been full of attraction to anyone who sympathised with mysticism. . . . Are not, for example, such passages as the following from Fénelon's *Maxims of the Saints* the very counterpart of what may be found over and over again in Law?—'Those who love God only out of regard to happiness, love Him just as a miser loves his gold, a voluptuous man his pleasures. Such love, if it be called love, is unworthy of God. . . . When God is in the soul, who can think of himself? So that we love God, and God alone, and all other things in and for God.'" (Overton, *William Law*, 161-2.) Law's mention of Fénelon to Byrom, noted in *Remains*, ii. 279, is certainly not specially appreciative: "He said that the ignorant that were true people struck him most, that learned men by their very learning were subject to human defects, and mentioned the Archbishop of Cambray."

Byrom seems himself to have been a diligent reader of Fénelon, several of whose works, together with a *Life*, translated by N. Hooke, are contained in his Library. (See *Catalogue*, p. 83; and cf. *Remains*, ii. 49.) He was, as has been seen (*ante*, p. 81), a reader and admirer of Madame Guyon (cf. *Catalogue*, pp. 99 and 23 (Bertot), and *Remains*, ii. 106, 302); and he sympathised more than did his Master Law with the Quietists in general. Among other English admirers of Mme. Guyon, whose part Fénelon so chivalrously took against Bossuet, were Cowper, who translated several of her hymns, and a noteworthy disciple of Böhme and Law, Henry Brooke, from whose celebrated novel I may transcribe a

curious passage : "[My Louisa] needed not to go to heaven, since heaven was ever in her and round about her, and that she could no more move from it than she could move herself. She had been, from her earliest years, the beloved disciple of the celebrated Madam Guion ; and the world, with all its concerns, its riches and respects, had fallen off from her, as the cloak fell away from the burning chariot of Elijah. She looked at nothing but her Lord in all things ; she loved nothing but him in anything ; and he was, in her heart, a pleasure-passing sense, as well as a peace that passed understanding." (*The Fool of Quality*, ii. 243.)

I have already (*ante*, p. 81) referred to Professor Upham's book on Mme. Guyon and Fénelon, which I cannot regard as satisfactory.]

## I.

THE Love of God with Genuine Ray  
 Inflamed the Breast of good *Cambray*,  
 And banish'd from the Prelate's Mind  
 All Thoughts of interested Kind.  
 He saw, and Writers of his Class  
 (Of too neglected Worth, alas !)  
*Disinterested* Love to be  
 The Gospel's very A. B. C.

## II.

When our *Redeeming Lord* began  
 To practise It Himself as Man,  
 And for the Joy then set before  
 His Loving View such Evils bore,  
 Endur'd the Cross, despis'd the shame,—  
 Had He an interested Aim ?  
 Surely the least Examination  
 Shows that the Joy was our Salvation.

10

2. *Good CAMBRAY*. François de Salignac de la Mothe Fénelon, born in 1651, was consecrated Archbishop of Cambray in 1695. He died in 1715.—Cf. for the manner of designation Gay's *Epistle to the Right Hon. William Pulteney*, 237-8 : "Let Cambray's name be sung above the rest,  
 Whose maxims, Pulteney, warm thy patriot breast !"

III.

For us He suffer'd, to make known  
 The Love That seeketh not Its Own,—  
 Suffer'd what nothing but so Pure  
 A Love could possibly endure. 20  
 No less a Sacrifice than this  
 Could bring poor Sinners back to Bliss,  
 Or execute the Saving Plan  
 Of reuniting God and Man.

IV.

This Love was *Abram's* Shield and Guard,  
 Was his exceeding great Reward ;  
 This Love the patriarchal Eye  
 And that of *Moses* could descry ;  
 In this disinterested Sense  
 They sought Reward or Recompense, 30  
 City or Country, Heav'n Above,  
 The Seat of Purity and Love.

V.

This the High Calling, this the Prize,  
 The Mark of *Paul's* so steady Eyes ;  
 For, with the self-forgetting *Paul*,  
 Pure Love of God in *Christ* was all.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <p>17, 18. <i>To make known</i><br/> <i>The Love That seeketh not Its Own.</i><br/>                 "For God so loved the world, that he gave<br/>                 his only begotten Son." (<i>St. John</i>, iii. 16.)<br/>                 25, 26. <i>His Love was ABRAM's Shield</i><br/> <i>and Guard, &amp;c.</i> "Fear not, Abram ; I<br/>                 am thy shield, and thy exceeding great<br/>                 reward." (<i>Genesis</i>, xv. 1.)<br/>                 35, 36. "<i>With the self-forgetting PAUL,</i><br/> <i>Pure Love of God in CHRIST was all.</i>"</p> | <p>See <i>Galatians</i>, ii. 20 : "I am crucified<br/>                 with Christ : nevertheless I live ; yet not<br/>                 I, but Christ liveth in me ; and the life<br/>                 which I now live in the flesh I live by the<br/>                 faith of the Son of God, who loved me and<br/>                 gave himself for me." And cf. <i>Romans</i>,<br/>                 viii. 39 : "Nor height, nor depth, nor any<br/>                 other creature, shall be able to separate us<br/>                 from the love of God, which is in Christ<br/>                 Jesus our Lord."</p> |
|--|---|

The Text of the belovèd *John*  
 Has all, that Words can say, in one ;  
 For "GOD IS LOVE,"—compendious Whole  
 Of all the Blessings of a Soul !

40

## VI.

What Helps to this a Soul may want,  
 Pure Love is ready still to grant,  
 But with a View to wean it still  
 From selfish, mercenary Will.  
 Of all Reward, all Punishment,  
 This is the End in God's Intent :  
 To form in Offsprings of His Own  
 The Bliss of loving His Alone.

## VII.

Sole Rule of all Affection due  
 Both to ourselves and others too ;  
 Meaning of ev'ry Scripture Text,  
 By interested Love perplext ;  
 Promise or Precept, Gospel Call  
 Or legal Love, fulfils them all,—  
 From Base arising up to Spire,  
 Superior both to Fear and Hire.

50

## VIII.

Love of Disinterested Kind,—  
 The Man who thinks It too refin'd

37. *The Text of the belovèd John.* *onomy*, vi. 5 : "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, and with all

48. *His.* His Offspring, Christ. thy soul, and with all thy might."

54. *Legal Love.* Love according to the *Ib.* *Fulfils them all.* Elliptically for :  
 Law of the Old Testament. Cf. *Deuter-* it (pure Love) fulfils them all.

*On the Disinterested Love of God.* 399

May by ambiguous Language still  
Persist in metaphysic Skill. 60  
Even the justly-fam'd *Cambray*  
In such a Case could only pray,  
That Love Itself would only dart  
Some feeling Proof into his Heart.

---

ON THE SAME SUBJECT.

I.

I LOVE my God, and freely too,  
With the Same Love that He imparts,—  
That He to Whom all Love is due  
Engraves upon pure, loving Hearts.

II.

I love ; but this Celestial Fire,  
Ye starry Pow'rs, Ye do not raise ;  
No Wages, no Reward's Desire,  
Is in the purely shining Blaze.

III.

Me nor the Hopes of heav'nly Bliss  
Or Paradisic Scenes excite ; 10  
Nor Terrors of the dark Abyss,—  
Of Death's eternal Den,—affright.

IV.

No bought and paid-for Love be mine ;  
I will have no Demands to make ;

Disinterested and Divine  
 Alone that Fear shall never shake.

## V.

Thou, my *Redeemer* from Above,  
 Suff'ring to such immense Degree,  
 Thy Heart has kindled mine to Love,  
 That burns for Nothing but for *Thee* ; 20

## VI.

Thy Scourge, Thy Thorns, Thy Cross, Thy Wounds—  
 And ev'ry one of them a Source  
 From whence the Nourishment abounds  
 Of Endless Love's Unfading Force.

## VII.

These Sacred Fires with Holy Breath  
 Raise in my Mind the gen'rous Strife ;  
 While, by the Ensigns of Thy Death  
 Known, I adore the LORD of LIFE.

## VIII.

Extinguish all Celestial Light,  
 The Fire of Love will not go out ; 30  
 The Flames of Hell extinguish quite,  
 Love will pursue Its wonted Route !

## IX.

Be there no Hope, if It persist,  
 Persist It will, nor ever cease ;

15. *Disinterested and Divine.* Dis- 27, 28. *By the Ensigns of Thy Death*  
 interested and Divine Love. *Known, I adore the LORD of LIFE.*

16. *That Fear shall never shake.* Such I adore the Lord of Life, known by the  
 as Fear, &c. signs of His Passion (the *stigmata*).

*On the Meaning of "Wrath" in Scripture.* 401

No Punishment, if 'tis dismissed,  
What caus'd It not will not decrease.

X.

Should'st Thou give Nothing for Its Pains,  
It claims not anything as due ;  
Should'st Thou condemn me, it remains  
Unchang'd by any selfish View. 40

XI.

Let Heav'n be darken'd, if It will,—  
Let Hell with all its Vengeance roar,—  
My God Alone remaining, still  
I'll love Him, as I did before.

35. *No Punishment, &c.* If there be lected, it will not be diminished by the sin  
no punishment where this Love is neg- which it did not cause.

---

ON THE MEANING OF THE WORD "WRATH," AS  
APPLIED TO GOD IN SCRIPTURE.

[Law's conception of the Atonement logically forms part of his theory of the Creation, Fall, and Redemption, although accommodating itself less easily than the rest of his scheme to accepted dogmatic *formulae*. Nay, if I may venture to use the expression, this conception is the most essential portion of the entire theory, and has proved itself such by means of the effect which has been produced by it, or by the likeness of it, without the imaginatively elaborate substructure presented in the master-pieces of Law's mystic theology. Frederick Denison Maurice, for instance, although he had strong affinities with mysticism in general and with the particular form of it presented in the writings of Law, cannot be supposed to have directly derived from the latter convictions which harmonise perfectly with the ideas here reproduced by Byrom. See, to quote a single passage

only, Maurice's sermon on *The Adoration of the Lamb* (in the series entitled *The Doctrine of Sacrifice deduced from Scriptures*, Cambridge, 1854, pp. 186-7): "Jesus Christ, according to St. John, according to Himself, is the faithful witness of His Father. The world had not known Him; it had suspected that in Him there was some darkness, some enmity towards His creatures; but He had known Him, and had come forth to testify that in Him was no darkness at all. Whatever love there was in Christ was first in Him, with whom He dwelt, and from whom He came. Whoso saw Him saw the Father," &c.

Law writes in no dissimilar strain in a passage in one of his Letters (*Letter v. In Answer to a Scruple*), p. 65, in *Works*, vol. ix.), which may be said to strike the keynote of both the following effusions:

"Thus it was, and to this end, that *God was in Christ Jesus* in his whole process.

"Unreasonably, therefore, have our scholastic systems of the gospel *separated* the sacrifice of Christ's death from the *other parts* of his process, and considered it as something chiefly done with regard to God, to alter or atone an infinite wrath that was raised in God against fallen man, which infinity of just vengeance, or vindictive justice, must have devoured the sinner, unless an *infinite* satisfaction had been made to it by the death of Christ.

"All this is in the grossest ignorance of God, of the reason, and ground, and effects of Christ's death, and in full contradiction to the express letter of scripture. For there we are told, that God is love, and that the infinity of his love was that alone which shewed itself towards fallen man, and wanted to have *satisfaction* done to it; which love-desire could not be *fulfilled*, could not be *satisfied*, with anything less than man's full deliverance from all the evil of his fallen state. That love which has the infinity of God, nay, which is God himself, was so immutably great towards man, though fallen from him, *that he spared not his only-begotten son*: And why did he not spare him? It was, because nothing but the incarnate life of his eternal son, passing through all the *miserable states* of lost man, could regenerate his first divine life in him. Can you possibly be told this in stronger words than these, *God so loved the world, that he gave his only-begotten son*? How did he give him? Why, in his whole process. And to what end did he give him? Why, *that all who believe in him might not perish, but have everlasting life*.—Away, then, with the superstitious dream of an *infinite* wrath in God towards poor fallen man, which could never cease till an *infinite satisfaction* was made to it. All scripture denies it, and the light of nature abhors it.—&c."

For a fuller exposition of Law's doctrine of the "process" of Divine Love, which abhors the notion of the Wrath of God lying at the root of the conception of the Atonement rejected by him, the reader must be referred to *The Spirit of Love*, and more especially to pp. 73 and 89 *seqq.*

of Part II. (*Works*, vol. viii.) Parts of these and of other passages illustrating Byrom's attempts to reproduce his "master's" teachings on the subject are cited in my *notes, infra.*]

I.

THAT "God is Love," is in the Scripture said ;  
That He is *Wrath*, is nowhere to be read ;  
From which by literal Expression free  
"Fury," He saith Himself, "is not in me."  
If Scripture, therefore, must direct our Faith,  
Love must be He or in Him, and not Wrath.

II.

And yet the Wrath of God in Scripture Phrase  
Is oft express'd, and many diff'rent Ways :  
His "Anger," "Fury," "Vengeance," are the Terms  
Which the plain Letter of the Text affirms ; 10  
And plain, from two of the Apostle's Quire,  
That "God is Love,"—and "a consuming Fire."

1. That "God is Love," is in the Scripture said. "He that loveth not knoweth not God; for God is love." (*1st Epistle of St. John*, iv. 8.) See *The Spirit of Love*, ii. 73: "And I have no Difficulty about those Passages of Scripture which speak of the Wrath, and Fury, and Vengeance of God. Wrath is *his*, just as all Nature is, and yet God is *mere Love* . . ."
4. "Fury," He saith Himself, "is not in me." "Fury is not in me: who would set the briers and thorns against me in battle? I would go through with them, I would burn them together." (*Isaiah*, xxvii. 4.)
9. His "Anger." "That the fierce anger of the Lord may be turned away from Israel." (*Numbers*, xxv. 4, *et al.*)
- 1b. "Fury." "God shall cast the fury of his wrath upon him." (*Job*. xx. 23.) "They are full of the fury of the Lord." (*Isaiah*, li. 20; cf. *Jeremiah*, vi. 11.)
- Ib. *Vengeance*. "It is written, Vengeance is mine; I will repay, saith the Lord." (*Romans*, xii. 19; cf. *Deuteronomy*, xxxii. 35.)
12. That "God is Love." See note to I. 1, *ante*.
- Ib. And "a consuming Fire." "For our God is a consuming fire." (*Hebrews*, xii. 29; cf. *Deuteronomy*, iv. 24.)

## III.

If we consult the Reasons that appear  
 To make the seeming Difficulty clear,  
 We must acknowledge, when we look Above,  
 That God, as God, is Overflowing Love ;  
 And wilful Sinners, when we look below,  
 Make what is call'd the Wrath of God to flow.

## IV.

"Wrath," as *St. Paul* saith, "is the treasur'd Part  
 Of an impenitently harden'd Heart." 20  
 When Love reveals Its Own Eternal Life,  
 Then Wrath and Anguish fall on evil Strife,—  
 Then Lovely Justice, in Itself all Bright,  
 Is Burning Fire to such as hate the Light.

## V.

If Wrath and Justice be indeed the same,  
 No Wrath in God is liable to blame.  
 If not,—if righteous Judges may, and must,  
 Be free Themselves from Wrath, if they be just,—  
 Such Kind of Blaming may with equal Sense  
 Lay on a Judge the Criminal's Offence. 30

## VI.

God, in Himself Unchangeable, in fine  
 Is One Eternal Light of Love Divine.

19 *seqq.* "*Wrath*," as *St. Paul* saith,  
 &c. "But after thy hardness and impeni-  
 tent heart treasurest up unto thyself wrath  
 against the day of wrath and revelation of  
 the righteous judgment of God." (*Romans*,  
 ii. 5.)

33. "*In Him there is no Darkness*, saith  
 ST. JOHN. "This then is the message  
 which we have heard of him, and declare  
 unto you, that God is light, and in him is  
 no darkness at all." (*1st Epistle of St.*  
*John*, i. 5.)

"In Him there is no Darkness," saith *St. John*;  
In Him no Wrath,—the Meaning is all one.  
'Tis our own Darkness, Wrath, Sin, Death and Hell,  
Not to love Him Who first lov'd us so well.

35 *seqq.* 'Tis our own Darkness, &c. less Contrariety of its own working Proper-  
See *The Spirit of Love, Part I.* p. 13: ties. This is the one only Origin of Hell,  
"Wherever Christ is not, there is the and every Kind of Curse and Misery in  
*Wrath* of Nature, or Nature left to itself the Creature. It is Nature without the  
and its own tormenting Strength of Life, Christ of God, or the *Spirit of Love*, ruling  
to feel nothing in itself but the vain rest- over it."

---

THE FOREGOING SUBJECT MORE FULLY ILLUS-  
TRATED, IN A COMMENT ON THE  
FOLLOWING SCRIPTURE:

"God so loved the world, that he gave his only-begotten Son,  
that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have ever-  
lasting life."—*ST. JOHN*, iii. 16.

[See the Introductory Note to the previous piece. Inasmuch as the versification of these stanzas is, for Byrom, unusually deficient in smoothness, it was not perhaps quite fair in Canon Overton (*William Law*, p. 361) to single them out as illustrating Byrom's use (or misuse) of a particular metre for sacred subjects.]

I.

"*GOD so loved the World.*"—By how tender a Phrase  
The Design of His Father our Saviour displays!  
*Love*, according to Him, when the World was undone,  
Was the Father's sole Reason for giving His Son.  
No *Wrath in the Giver* had *Christ* to atone,  
But to save a poor perishing World from *its own*.

A Belief in the Son carries with it a Faith,  
That the Motive Paternal was Love, and not Wrath.

## II.

"Ev'ry good, perfect Gift cometh down from above,  
From the Father of Lights," thro' the Son of His Love. 10  
As in Him there is "no Variation or Change,"  
Neither "Shadow of turning,"—it well may seem strange  
That, when Scripture assures us so plainly that He,  
His Will, Grace, or Gift, is so perfectly Free,  
Any Word should be strain'd to incúcate a Thought  
Of a Wrath in His Mind, or a Change to be wrought.

## III.

All Wrath is the Product of creaturely Sin.  
In Immutable Love it could never begin ;—  
Nor, indeed, in a Creature, till opposite Will  
To the Love of its GOD had brought forth such an Ill,— 20  
To the Love That was pleas'd to communicate Bliss  
In such endless Degrees thro' all Nature's Abyss.  
Nor could Wrath have been known, had not Man left the State  
In which Nature's GOD was pleas'd Man to create.

## IV.

He saw, when this World in its Purity stood,  
Ev'ry Thing He had made, and, "behold, it was good ;"  
And the Man, its one Ruler, before his sad Fall,  
As the Image of GOD had the Goodness of All.  
When he fell, and awaken'd Wrath, Evil and Curse  
In himself and the World, was GOD become worse, 30

9 *seqq.* "*Ev'ry good, perfect Gift cometh* whom is no variableness, neither shadow  
*down,*" &c. "*Every good gift and every* of turning." (*St. James*, i. 17.)  
perfect gift is from above, and cometh 26. "*Behold it was good.*" See *Genesis*,  
down from the Father of lights, with i. 31.

Who so lov'd the World still that, when Wrath was begun,  
To redeem the lost Creature, He gave His own Son?—

V.

Freely gave Him,—not mov'd or incited thereto  
By a previous "appeasing," or payment of Due  
To his "Wrath," or His "Vengeance," or any such Cause  
As should *satisfy* Him for the Breach of His Laws.  
This Language the Jew *Nicodemus* might use,  
But our *Saviour's* to him had more Excellent Views :  
"GOD so *loved* the World," (are His Words) "that He gave  
"His Only-Begotten" in order to save. 40

VI.

Love's prior, unpurchas'd, unpaid-for Intent  
Was the Cause why the Only-Begotten was sent,  
That thro' Him we might live ; and the Cause why He came  
Was to manifest Love, ever One and the Same,—  
Full Conquest of Wrath ever striving to make,  
And blotting Transgressions out for *Its own sake* ;  
Wanting no *Satisfaction* itself but to give  
*Itself*, that the World might receive It and live ;—

VII.

Might believe on the Son, and receive a new Birth  
From the Love That in *Christ* was Incarnate on Earth, 50  
When a Virgin brought forth, without help of a Man,  
The Restorer of GOD'S True, Original Plan,—  
The One Quencher of Wrath, the Atoner of Sin,  
And the "Bringer of Justice and Righteousness in ;"

37. *This Language the Jew NICODEMUS might use.* Nicodemus, before he was instructed by Jesus, had not perceived the necessity of regeneration as the process of redemption in the individual human soul.

49. *Might believe on the Son.* Cf. *St. John*, ix. 35 : (Jesus) "said unto him, Dost thou believe on the Son of God?"

54. *The "Bringer of Justice and Righteousness in."* "To make an end of

The Renewer in Man of a Pow'r and a Will  
To satisfy Justice,—that is, to fulfil.

## VIII.

There is nothing that Justice and Righteousness hath  
More opposite to it than Anger and Wrath,—  
As repugnant to all that is equal and right,  
As Falsehood to Truth, or as Darkness to Light. 60  
Of GOD in Himself what the Scripture affirms  
Is "Truth," "Light," and "Love,"—plain significant Terms.  
In His Deity, therefore, there cannot befall  
Any Falsehood, or Darkness, or Hatred at all.

## IX.

Such Defect can be found in that Creature alone  
Which against His Good Will seeks to set up its own.  
Then, to GOD and His Justice it giveth the Lie,  
And its Darkness and Wrath are discover'd thereby.  
What before was subservient to Life in due Place,  
Then usurps the Dominion, and Death is the Case; 70  
Which the Son of GOD only could ever subdue  
By doing all that which Love gave Him to do.

## X.

If "the Anger of GOD," "Fury," "Wrath, waxing hot,"  
And the like human Phrases that Scripture has got,

ains, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness. (*Daniel*, ix. 24.)

62. *Is "Truth."* "And it is the Spirit that beareth witness, because the Spirit is truth." (*1st Epistle of St. John*, v. 6.) The expression "God of Truth" occurs *Lawrence*, xxxii. 4; *Psalm*, xxxi. 5.

73. *"Light."* "I am the light of the world." (*St. John*, viii. 12.)

74. *"Love."* "God is love." (*1st Epistle of St. John*, iv. 8.)

65 *seqq.* *Such Defect can be found in that Creature alone, &c.* "And now, Gentlemen, what think you of a supposed Wrath or Rage in God? Will you have such Things to be in the Deity itself as cannot have Place or Existence even in any Creature, till it is become *disordered* and *impure*, and has lost its *proper state* of Goodness?" (*The Spirit of Love, Part II.* pp. 15-16.)

73. *If "the anger of GOD," &c.* See the notes to l. 9 of the previous piece; and add (*inter alia*) *Exodus*, xxxii. 11: "And

Be insisted upon, why not also the rest,  
Where GOD in the Language of Men is exprest  
In a Manner which all are oblig'd to confess,  
No Defect in His Nature can mean to express?  
With a GOD Who is LOVE ev'ry Word should agree,—  
With a GOD Who hath said, "Fury is not in Me." 80

XI.

The Disorders in Nature,—for none are in GOD,—  
Are entitled "His Vengeance," "His Wrath," or "His Rod;"  
Like "His Ice," or "His Frost," "His Plague, Famine, or Sword,"  
That the Love Which directs them may still be ador'd;—  
Directs them, till Justice, call'd His or call'd ours,  
Shall regain, to our Comfort, Its Primitive Pow'rs,—  
The True, Saving Justice, that bids us endure  
What Love shall prescribe for effecting our Cure.

XII.

By a Process of Love from the Crib to the Cross  
Did the Only-Begotten recover our Loss, 90  
And show in us Men how the Father is pleas'd,  
When the Wrath in our Nature by Love is appeas'd;—

80 With God, who.—B.

Moses besought the LORD his God, and said, LORD, why doth thy wrath wax hot against thy people, &c."

80. "*Fury is not in Me.*" See note to l. 4 of the previous piece.

82. "*His Rod.*" "His rod was upon the sea." (*Isaiah*, x. 26; *et al.*)

83. "*His Ice.*" "He casteth forth his ice like morsels: who can stand before his cold?" (*Psalms* cxlvii. 17.)

89 *seqq.* *By a Process of Love*, &c. "Divine Love is perfect Peace and Joy . . . Love is the Christ of God; wherever it

comes, it comes as the Blessing and Happiness of every natural Life, as the Restorer of every lost Perfection, a Redeemer from all Evil, a Fulfiller of all Righteousness, and a Peace of God which passeth all understanding. Through all the Universe of Things, nothing is *uneasy, unsatisfied, or restless*, but because it is not governed by Love, or because its Nature has not reached or attained the *full Birth* of the Spirit of Love." (*The Spirit of Love, Part II.* p. 179.)

Yet, if a Thought shall intervene between  
 Things and Commands, 'tis evidently seen  
 That Good will be commanded. Men divide  
 Nature and Laws, which really coincide. 30

## VI.

From the Divine, Eternal Spirit springs  
 Order and Rule and Rectitude of Things,  
 Thro' outward Nature, His Apparent Throne,  
 Visibly seen, intelligibly known,—  
 Proofs of a Boundless Pow'r, a Wisdom's Aid,  
 By Goodness us'd, Eternal and Unmade.

## VII.

*Cudworth* perceiv'd that what Divines advance  
 For Sov'reignty alone is Fate, or Chance,—  
 Fate, after Pow'r had made its forcing Laws ;  
 And Chance before, if made without a Cause. 40  
 Nothing stands firm or certain in a State  
 Of fatal Chance or accidental Fate.

27 *seqq.* *Yet, if a Thought*, &c. Yet, if between the occasion for a command being given by God and the giving of the command there intervene a thought—or exercise of the will—in God, it is manifest that what He commands must be what is good or right. Men make an unnecessary distinction between what is right by its nature, and what is right by Divine command.

37 *seqq.* *Cudworth perceived*, &c. "The object" [of his *Intellectual System*] "was to establish the liberty of human actions against the fatalists. Of these he lays it down that there are three kinds : the first

atheistic ; the second admitting a Deity, but one acting necessarily and without moral perfections ; the third granting the usual moral attributes of God, but asserting all moral actions to be governed by necessary laws which he has ordained. The first book of the *Intellectual System*, which alone is extant, relates wholly to the proofs of the existence of a Deity against the atheistic fatalists." (HALLAM, *Literature of Europe, Part IV.* ch. iii.)

38. *For Sovereignty alone.* In favour of the dominion of an Absolute Will.

39. *Forcing Laws.* Obligatory laws.

VIII.

Endless Perfections after all conspire,  
And to adore excite and to admire ;  
But to plain Minds the Plainest Pow'r Above  
Is Native Goodness to attract our Love ;  
Centre of all Its various Pow'r and Skill  
Is One Divine, Immutable Good Will.

---

ON THE NATURE AND REASON OF ALL  
OUTWARD LAW.

"The Sabbath was made for Man ; not Man for the Sabbath."

—*St. Mark*, ii. 27.

I.

FROM this true Saying one may learn to draw  
The real Nature of all outward Law.  
In ev'ry Instance, rightly understood,  
Its Ground and Reason is the human Good ;  
By all its Changes, since the World began,  
Man was not made for Law, but Law for Man.

II.

"Thou shalt not eat,"—the first Command of all—  
"Of Good and Ill," was to *prevent* his Fall.

7, 8. "*Thou shalt not eat*"—the first Command of all—  
"Of Good and Ill," was to PREVENT his Fall.  
(See *Genesis*, ii. 17.) "But see now this Goodness and Compassion of God towards the mistaken Creature ; for no sooner had Adam, by the Abuse of his Power and Freedom, given Occasion to the Birth of this evil  
Trec, but the God of Love informs him of the dreadful Nature of it, commands him not to eat of it, assuring him that Death was hidden in it, that Death to his angelic Life would be found in the Day that he should eat of it." (*The Spirit of Prayer*, Part ii. pp. 95-6 ; *Law's Works*, vol. vii.)

When he became unfit to be alone,  
 Woman was form'd out of his Flesh and Bone. 10  
 When both had sinn'd, then Penitential Grief  
 And sweating Labour was the Law Relief.

## III.

When all the World had sinn'd, save one good Sire,  
*Flood* was the Law that sav'd its Orb from Fire ;  
 When *Fire* itself upon a *Sodom* fell,  
 It was the Law to stop a growing Hell ;  
 So on,—the Law with Riches or with Rods,  
 Come as it will, is *Good* ; for it is God's.

## IV.

Men who observe a Law, or who abuse  
 For selfish Pow'r, are blind as any *Jews* ; 20  
 On Sabbath, constru'd by *rabbinic* Will,  
 God must not save, and Men must seek to kill.  
 Such Zeal for Law has *pharisaic* Faith,  
 Not as 'tis good, but as it worketh Wrath.

## V.

JESUS, the Perfect Law-fulfiller, gave  
 The Victory that taught the Law to save ;  
 Pluck'd out its Sting, revers'd the cruel Cry :  
 " We have a Law by which He ought to die."

11, 12. *Penitential Grief*  
*And sweating Labour.*

See *Genesis*, iii. 17-19.

13. *One good Sire.* Noah.

15. *When FIRE itself upon a SODOM*  
*fell.* See *Genesis*, xix. 24 *seqq.*

22. *God must not save.* See *St. Luke*,  
 xiii. 14 : "And the ruler of the synagogue  
 answered with indignation, because that

Jesus had healed on the sabbath day," &c.

*Ib.* *Men must seek to kill.* Perhaps in  
 allusion to "the burnt offering of every  
 sabbath." (*Numbers*, xxviii. 9-10.)

28. "*We have a Law by which he ought*  
*to die.*" "We have a law, and by our  
 law he ought to die, because he made  
 himself the Son of God." (*St. John*, xix.  
 7.)

Dying for Man, this Conquest He could give :  
" I have a Law by which he ought to live."

30

VI.

Whilst in the Flesh, how oft did He reveal  
His Saving Will, and God-like Pow'r to heal !  
They whom Defect, Disease or Fiend possess'd,  
And pardon'd Sinners, by his Word had Rest ;  
He, on the *Sabbath*, chose to heal and teach,  
And *Law*-proud *Jews* to slay him for its Breach.

VII.

The Sabbath, never so well kept before,  
May justify one Observation more.  
Our Saviour heal'd, as pious Authors say,  
So many Sick upon the Sabbath-Day,  
To shew that Rest and Quietness of Soul  
Is best for one who wants to be made whole ;—

40

VIII.

Not to indulge an Eagerness too great  
Of outward Hurry or of inward Heat ;  
But, with an humble Temper and resign'd,  
To keep a Sabbath in a hopeful Mind,  
In *Peace* and *Patience* meekly to endure,  
Till the *Good Saviour's* Hour is come,—to cure.

35. *He, on the Sabbath, &c.* Cf. *St. Mark*, ii. 23-8.

---

DIVINE LOVE, THE ESSENTIAL CHARACTERISTIC OF TRUE RELIGION.

[Among the works in Byrom's Library on the subject of the Divine Love are Duns Scotus' *Contemplationes Idiotæ de Amore Divino*, &c., both in a Latin copy and in an English Translation (1662) ; St. Francis

de Sales' *Traicté de l'Amour de Dieu* (1647); Sir George Strode's English Translation (1652) of Christopher de Fonseca's *Discourse of Holy Love*; and not less than four editions (1685, &c.) of Bishop Ken's *Exposition on the Church Catechism, or the Practice of Divine Love*; one of which copies contains at the end *MS.* prayers and quotations, partly in the handwriting of Byrom, from Jacob Böhme and other mystical writers.

The leading thought of the following stanzas is thus expressed by Law in his *Humble Address to the Clergy*, p. 5 (*Works*, vol. ix.): "The *one Relation*, which is the Ground of all true Religion, and is one and the same between God and all intelligent Creatures, is this, it is a *total unalterable Dependence upon God, an immediate continual receiving of every Kind and Degree of Goodness, Blessing and Happiness that ever was or can be found in them, from God alone.*" In this doctrine of acquiescence in the Will of God as the essence of true religion there is much that recalls the teaching of Molinos.]

## I.

RELIGION'S Meaning when I would recall,  
*Love* is to me the plainest Word of all.  
 Plainest, — because that what I *love*, or *hate*,  
 Shews me directly my internal State ;  
 By its own Consciousness is best defin'd  
 Which way the *Heart* within me stands inclin'd.

## II.

On what it lets its Inclination rest,  
 To that its real Worship is address'd ;  
 Whatever Forms or Ceremonies spring  
 From Custom's Force, *there* lies the real Thing ;      10  
*Jew, Turk* or *Christian* be the Lover's Name,  
 If same the Love, Religion is the same.

## III.

Of all Religions if we take a View,  
 There is but one that ever can be true,—

*Divine Love and True Religion.*

417

One *God*, One *Christ*, One *Spirit*, none but He.  
All else is *Idol*, whatsoe'er it be,—  
A Good that our Imaginations make,  
Unless we love it purely for His Sake.

IV.

Nothing but gross Idolatry alone  
Can ever love it merely for its own. 20  
It may be good, that is, may make appear  
So much of God's *One* Goodness to be clear ;  
Thereby to raise a true, religious Soul  
To Love of *Him*, the One Eternal Whole ;—

V.

The One Unbounded, Undivided Good,  
By all His Creatures partly understood.  
If therefore Sense of its apparent Parts  
Raise not His Love or Worship in our Hearts,  
Our selfish Wills or Notions we may feast,  
And have no more Religion than a Beast. 30

VI.

For brutal Instinct can a Good embrace  
That leaves behind it no reflecting Trace ;  
But thinking Man, whatever be his Theme,  
Should worship Goodness in the Great Supreme ;  
By inward Faith, more sure than outward Sight,  
Should eye the Source of all that's Good and Right.

VII.

*Religion*, then, is *Love's* Celestial Force  
That penetrates thro' all to Its True Source ;

3 H



Loves all along, but with proportion'd Bent,  
 As Creatures further the Divine Ascent,  
 Not to the Skies or Stars, but to the part  
 That will be always uppermost,—the *Heart*,

40

## VIII.

There is the Seat, as Holy Writings tell,  
 Where the Most High Himself delights to dwell ;  
 Whither attracting the desirous Will  
 To its true Rest, He saves it from all Ill,  
 Gives it to find in His *Abyssal* Love  
 An Heav'n *within*,—in other Words, *Above*.

40. *As Creatures further.* As created darkness, truth shined in our hearts."  
 beings follow. (2nd Corinthians, iv. 6.)

43. *As Holy Writings tell.* "For God, 47. *Abyssal.* Unfathomable.  
 who commanded the light to shine out of

ON WORKS OF MERCY AND COMPASSION,  
 CONSIDERED AS THE PROOFS OF  
 TRUE RELIGION.

[These stanzas appear to have been suggested by Law's *Dialogue between a Methodist and a Churchman of Justification by Faith and Works*, pp. 16 *seqq.* (*Works*, vol. ix.), where the "Churchman" invites his interlocutor, would he "see the Truth of Justification, and the Truth of Condemnation, free from all Possibility of Mistake," to "look how the righteous Judge of all the World will proceed at the last day." He then comments on our Saviour's picture of the Last Judgment (see *St. Matthew*, xxv. 31-46), and adds, in words which Byrom's last stanza in some measure recalls: "What occasion then for so many laboured critical Volumes about Faith and Works in order to Justification? . . . Christ is the one great infallible Teacher about Justification, and what He has said in two or three Words about it can no more have any

Thing taken from it, added to it, or altered in it, than his last Sentence on his<sup>a</sup> Judgment-Seat.”]

I.

OF true Religion Works of Mercy seem  
To be the plainest Proof in *Christ's* Esteem ;  
Who has Himself declar'd what He will say  
To all the Nations at the Judgment Day :  
“Come,” or “Depart,” is the predicted Lot  
Of brotherly Compassion shown, or not.

II.

Then, they who gave poor hungry People Meat,  
And Drink to quench the thirsty Suff'rer's Heat ;  
Who welcom'd in the Stranger at the Door,  
And with a Garment clothed the naked Poor ;      10  
Who visited the Sick to ease their Grief,  
And went to Pris'ners, or bestow'd Relief :—

III.

These will be deem'd *religious* Men, to whom  
Will sound : “Ye blessèd of my Father, come,  
Inherit ye the Kingdom, and partake  
Of all the Glories founded for your Sake ;  
Your Love for others I was pleas'd to see,  
What you have done to them was done to Me !”

IV.

Then, they who gave the hungry Poor no Food ;  
Who with no Drink the parch'd with Thrift bedew'd ;      20  
Who drove the helpless Stranger from their Fold,  
And let the Naked perish in the Cold ;  
Who to the Sick no friendly Visit paid,  
Nor gave to Pris'ners any needful Aid ;—

## V.

These will be deem'd of *irreligious* Mind ;  
 And hear the : "Go, ye Men of cursèd Kind ;  
 To endless Woes, which ev'ry harden'd Heart  
 For its own Treasure has prepar'd, depart ;  
 Shown to a Brother of the least Degree,  
 Your merciless Behaviour was to Me !"

30

## VI.

Here, all ye learnèd, full of all Dispute,  
 Of true and false Religion lies the Root.  
 The Mind of *Christ*, when He became a Man,  
 With all Its Tempers, forms its real Plan,  
 The *Sheep* from *Goats* distinguishing full well ;—  
 His Love is *Heav'n*, and Want of It is *Hell*.

THE SOUL'S TENDENCY TOWARDS ITS  
 TRUE CENTRE.

[Canon Overton (*William Law*, pp. 149-150) describes this piece as "one of the prettiest" of "Byrom's mystic poems, which were nothing else than Law in verse ;" and compares the following passage from the early German mystic "Master" Eckard (d. 1327) : "Consciously or unconsciously all creatures seek their proper state. The stone cannot cease moving till it touch the earth, the fire rises up to heaven : thus a loving soul can never rest but in God ; and so we say that God has given to all things their proper place : to the fish the water, to the bird the air, to the beast the earth, to the soul the Godhead ;" and St. Augustine's words at the very beginning of his *Confessions* : "Thou madest us for Thyself, and our heart is restless until it repose in Thee."

It would be easy to suggest a long series of Christian hymns (including the *Ad perennis vitæ fontem* and the reproductions of it), of which the theme is the longing of the soul for its true home. But Byrom's lines,

in the true spirit of "Behmenism," give a direct spiritual application to a physical law. In mere form, this is one of the many poems more or less traceable in origin to Hadrian's celebrated *Address to his Departing Soul*. As to the personification of the Soul in Böhme's *Dialogues* see *ante*, 327-8; cf. 336.]

I.

STONES towards the Earth descend ;  
Rivers to the Ocean roll ;  
Ev'ry Motion has some End ;—  
What is thine, beloved Soul ?

II.

"Mine is, where my Saviour is ;  
There with Him I hope to dwell.  
*Jesus* is the Central Bliss,  
Love the Force That doth impel."

III.

Truly, thou hast answer'd right.  
Now, may Heav'ns Attractive Grace 10  
Tow'rds the Source of thy Delight  
Speed along thy quick'ning Pace !

IV.

"Thank thee for thy gen'rous Care !  
Heav'n That did the Wish inspire  
Through thy instrumental Prayer  
Plumes the Wings of my Desire.

10. *Heav'ns Attractive Grace*. The power attractive inherent in the Divine Grace.

13 *seqq.* "*Thank thee for thy gen'rous Care*," &c. I am not quite sure whether I am right in assigning this stanza to the

Soul, and in supposing the Soul to thank the human being whose "guest" it has been for the shelter granted it, and for speeding its desire by enabling it to proffer prayer to Heaven (see stanza iii).



## V.

“Now, methinks, aloft I fly ;  
 Now, with Angels bear a Part.  
 Glory be to God on High,  
 Peace to ev’ry Christian Heart !”

20

17. *Now, methinks, aloft I fly.* —Pope, *The dying Christian to his Soul.*  
 “Lend, lend your wings ! I mount, I fly! 19 *seqq.* *Glory be to God on high, &c.*  
 O Grave ! where is thy Victory ? “Glory to God in the highest, and on  
 O Death, where is thy Sting ?” earth peace.” (*St. Luke*, ii. 14.)

---

A PARAPHRASE ON THE PRAYER USED IN THE  
 CHURCH LITURGY “FOR ALL SORTS AND  
 CONDITIONS OF MEN.”

[The beautiful prayer paraphrased by Byrom is known to have been composed by Dr. Peter Gunning (Bishop of Chichester 1669–1675, Bishop of Ely 1675 to his death in 1684), and to have come into use with our present Prayer Book in 1662. According to Mr. Cornford’s *Book of Common Prayer, with Historical Notes* (from which I have occasionally borrowed elsewhere without acknowledgment) this Prayer, which was originally much longer, and which is thought to have been reduced to its present, and not altogether consecutive, form by Dr. Sander-son, has some resemblance to the “General Prayers” of the Sarum Missal.

Bishop Gunning had before the Restoration borne faithful testimony to his loyalty towards Church and King. Ejected from Cambridge on account of his refusal to take the Covenant, he had found a refuge at New College, Oxford, but seems to have been driven thence by the Parliamentary Visitors. He was one of three divines who, after the Westminster Directory had taken the place of the Prayer Book, conducted the services of a Church of England congregation in Blackfriars, which were suppressed in 1648. (See Plumptre’s *Life of Bishop Ken*, 1888, i. 72 and *ib.* 6, *note.*) After the Restoration, he speedily passed from preferment to preferment. Baxter acknowledges that Gunning was the foremost “Arminian” at the Savoy Conference, and there is no doubt

as to his having been a strong partisan. There is equally little question as to his learning and his open-handedness. He died in 1684; and the following is Burnet's characteristic tribute to his memory (*Own Time*, edn. 1833, ii. 439-440): "Gunning of Ely died this summer, a man of great reading; he had in him all the subtlety and the disputing humour of a schoolman; and he studied to infuse that into all those who were formed by him. He was strict in the whole course of his life; but was a dry man, and much inclined to superstition. He had a great confusion of things in his head, and could bring nothing into method; so that he was a dark and perplexed preacher. His sermons were full of Greek and Hebrew, and of the opinions of the fathers. Yet many of the ladies of a high form loved to hear him preach: which, the King used to say, was because they did not understand him." Bishop Gunning's best known theological work is his treatise *On Lent* (1662), enlarged from a sermon preached before the King, and reprinted in the *Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology* in 1845. (See Canon Overton's life of Gunning in vol. xxiii. of the *Dictionary of National Biography*.)]

I.

I T will bear the repeating again and again,  
Will the Pray'r for all Sorts and Conditions of Men;  
Not to this or that Place, Name or Nation confin'd,  
But embracing, at once, the whole Race of Mankind;  
With a Love Universal instructing to call  
On the One Great Creating Preserver of All:  
That His Way may be known upon Earth, and be found  
His true saving Health by the Nations all round!

II.

He Who willeth all Men to be sav'd, and partake  
Of the Bliss which distinguish'd their primitive Make,— 10  
To arise to that Life, by a second new Birth,  
Which *Adam* had lost at his *Fall* upon Earth,—  
Will accept ev'ry Heart, whose unfeign'd Intent  
Is to pray for that Blessing, which He Himself meant,

When He gave His own Son for whoever should will  
To escape, by His Means, from the Regions of Ill.

## III.

But tho' all the whole World, in a Sense that is good,  
To be God's House or Church may be well understood,  
And the Men who dwell on it His Children, for whom  
It has pleas'd Him that *Christ* the Redeemer should come,— 20  
Yet His Church must consist, in all saving Respect,  
Of them who receive Him, not them who reject ;  
And His true, real Children, or People, are they  
Who, when call'd by the Saviour, believe and obey.

## IV.

Now this excellent Pray'r, in this Sense of the Phrase,  
For the Catholic Church more especially prays :  
That it may be so constantly govern'd and led  
By the *Spirit* of God, and of *Jesus* its Head,  
That all such as are taught to acknowledge its Creed  
And profess to be *Christians*, may be so indeed ; 30  
May hold the one Faith in a Peace without Strife,  
And the Proof of its Truth a right practical Life.

## V.

No partial Distinction is here to be sought ;  
For the Good of Mankind still enlivens the Thought.  
Since God by the Church, in its Catholic Sense,  
Salvation to all is so pleas'd to dispense,  
That the further her Faith and her Patience increase,  
More Hearts will be won to the Gospel of Peace ;  
Till the World shall come under Truth's absolute Sway,  
And the Nations, converted, bring on the great Day. 40

VI.

Meanwhile, tho' Eternity be her chief Care,  
The Suff'ers in Time have a suitable Share ;  
She prays to the Fatherly Goodness of God  
For all whom Affliction has under its Rod ;  
That, inward or outward the Cause of their Grief,—  
Mind, Body, Estate,—He would grant them Relief,  
Due Comfort and Patience, and finally bless  
With the most happy Ending of all their Distress.

VII.

The Compassion here taught is unlimited too,  
And the Whole of Mankind the petitioning View. 50  
As none can foresee, whether Christian or not,  
What Afflictions may fall in this World to his Lot ;  
The Church, which considers Whose Providence sends,  
Prays that all may obtain Its Beneficent Ends  
And, whenever the Suff'rings here needful are past,  
By Repentance and Faith may be sav'd at the last.

VIII.

The particular Mention of such as desire  
To be publicly pray'd for, as made in our Quire,  
Infers to all others God's Merciful Grace.  
Tho' we hear not their Names, who are in the like Case, 60  
It excites our Attention to Instances known  
Of Relations, or Neighbours, or Friends of our own ;  
For the Pray'r in its Nature extends to all those,  
Who are in the same Trouble, Friends to Us or Foes.

60. *Tho' we hear not their Names.* The sions of the congregation are desired, has  
custom of mentioning before this Prayer now, I believe, again become more usual  
the names of those for whom the interces- than it was some little time since.

## IX.

All which she entreats, for His Sake, to be done,  
 Who suffer'd to save them, *Christ Jesus*, His Son,—  
 In respect to the World, the Redeemer of All;  
 "To the Church of the Faithful, most chiefly," saith *Paul*;  
 And to them who shall suffer, whoever they be,  
 In the *Spirit of Christ*, in the highest Degree. 70  
 How ought such a Goodness all Minds to prepare  
 For an hearty "Amen" to this Catholic Pray'r!

## X.

The Church is indeed, in its real Intent,  
 An Assembly where Nothing but Friendship is meant;  
 And the utter Extinction of Foeship and Wrath  
 By the Working of Love in the Strength of its Faith.  
 This gives it its holy and catholic Name,  
 And truly confirms its apostolic Claim;  
 Showing what the One Saviour's One Mission had been:  
 "Go and teach all the World,"—ev'ry Creature therein. 80

## XI.

In the Praise ever due to the Gospel of Grace  
 Its Universality holds the first Place.

68, "To the Church of the Faithful, most chiefly," saith PAUL. The allusion seems to be to *Galatians*, vi. 10: "As we have therefore opportunity, let us do good unto all men, especially unto them who are of the household of faith."

69, 70. And to them who shall suffer, whoever they be,  
 In the SPIRIT of CHRIST, in the highest Degree.

"Now, in the gospel [*St. Matthew*, ix. 2], our blessed Lord, seeing their faith, 'saith to the sick of the palsy, Son, be of good cheer, thy sins are forgiven thee.' Now,

here pardon of sins is given, directly contrary to this author's assertion, to one not converted or baptized into the Christian faith, but because of his and their faith that brought him on a bed." (*A Demonstration of the Gross and Fundamental Errors of a late Book* [attributed to Bishop Hoadly] called "*A Plain Account of the Nature and End of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper*," &c., p. 296, in *Law's Works*, vol. v.)

80. "Go and teach all the World."  
 "Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, &c." (*St. Matthew*, xxviii. 19.)

When an Angel proclaim'd Its glad Tidings the Morn  
That the Son of the Virgin, the *Saviour*, was born,  
"Which shall be to all People," was said to complete  
The angelical Message, so good and so great,  
Full of "Glory to God," in the Regions Above,  
And of "Goodness to Men," is so Boundless a Love.

XII.

This short Supplication, or Litany, read  
When the longer with us is not wont to be said, 90  
Tho' brief in Expression, as fully imports  
The Will to all Blessings, for "Men of all Sorts,"—  
Same brotherly Love, by which Christians are taught  
To "pray without ceasing," or limiting Thought;  
That Religion may flourish upon its true Plan  
Of *Glory* to God and *Salvation* to Man.

85. "*Which shall be to all People.*" to be said. See *Rubric*: "A Collect or  
*St. Luke*, ii. 10: "And the angel said Prayer for all conditions of men, to be  
unto them, Fear not; for behold, I bring used at such times when the Litany is not  
you good tidings of great joy, which shall appointed to be read."

be to all people." And see the following 94. "*Pray without ceasing.*" 1st  
verses. *Thessalonians*, v. 17: "*Pray without*

90. *When the longer with us is not wont ceasing.*"

THE PRAYER OF RUSBROCHIUS.

["*The Prayer of Rusbrochius*" here adapted by Byrom is not to be found in the *Institutionum Farrago ex J. Rusbrochio* by the Benedictine Abbot Ludovicus Blosius to his compilation *De Incarnatione et Vita Domini*, of which a copy in 12mo, with the title-page wanting, is in Byrom's Library (see *Catalogue*, p. 32). Nor is there any extract from it, as I had thought possible from the passage in *Remains*, ii. 57, cited below, in Barbanson's *Vera Theologia Mystica Compendium s. Amoris*

*Divini Occulte Semita*, of which Byrom's Library likewise contains a copy (Amsterdam, 1698; see *Catalogue*, p. 16), and which includes several hortatory pieces of an analogous description. Böhringer, however, *u.i.*, p. 459, mentions a "Prayer" in his enumeration of Ruysbroeck's writings, and so, apparently following him, does Otto Schmid. In one of the editions or translations mentioned by the latter the original of Byrom's stanzas must be traceable. It certainly would not be difficult to parallel, even by such extracts from Ruysbroeck as are accessible in the various anthologies which have been made from his writings, much of both the diction and the thought reproduced in Byrom's lines. The virtue of humility, in particular, has rarely been praised with greater fervour than by the celebrated Flemish mystic.

Byrom's acquaintance with Ruysbroeck, was of comparatively early date. On November 28th, 1733, when at Cambridge, he entered in his *Shorthand Journal*: "Had *Rusbrochius* out of the public library" (*Remains*, i. 531). His knowledge of the earlier mystics, however, for some time after this remained fragmentary; for on June 7th, 1735, he notes that he enquired of Law whether "*Rusbrochius* was the first of these writers," and that he received a rather Johnsonian reply. (See *ib.*, i. 617: "He (Law) said, 'You ask an absurd question. Excuse me,' says he, 'for being so free'; that there never was an age since Christianity but there had been of those writers.") On July 13th, 1736, at home at Manchester, he records of himself: "Thinking of the verses which I thought on at Barnet from Barbanson's Introduction, from *Rusbrochius*." (*Ib.*, ii. 57; for the Latin lines "*Quid loca*," &c., see below.) On April 19th, 1737, he notes in a passage which possesses considerable interest in connexion with Law's opinion of the earlier as contrasted with the later mystics, how in conversation "he commended Taulerus, *Rusbrochius*, T. à Kempis, and the old Roman Catholic writers, and disliked or seemed to condemn Mrs. Bourignon, Guion, for their volumes, and describing of states which ought not to be described." (*Remains*, ii. 112; see, however, *Extract from a Letter to a Clergyman* in Law's *Letters*, p. 195, in *Works*, vol. ix.: "Mr. W. will convey *Rusbrochius* to you. Everyone has his *proper way from God*, if he be so happy as to find and follow it, without seeking out one of his own. My mind has for many years turned from, or rather passed by, every religious author that requires *critical abilities*, or that carries me

to any help but that which is to be found within me. I never could go through even the divine *Ruysbrochius*, in his spiritualising the Mosaic tabernacle, and all that belonged to it. His illuminated eye saw Christ figured and typified in every part, and what he saw he told the world. But as to myself, &c.") All these passages being taken into account, it is almost inconceivable how in his *Shorthand Journal* Byrom should have recorded as late as May, 1743, that on a visit to Law at King's Cliffe, he saw lying upon the "Master's" table "a Roman Catholic author, a *Jesuit I think*, Rusbroc." (*Remains*, ii. 365.)

The fullest account of the "*Doctor ecstaticus*" s. "*divinus*" s. "*illuminatus*" s. "*admirabilis*," John Ruysbroeck, is that in Böhlinger's *Die Kirche Christi und ihre Zeugen* (vol. ii. part ii. Zürich, 1855); for other authorities see Otto Schmid's Notice in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, vol. xxix., 1889). His chief work, *de nuptiis spiritualibus*, first appeared in print in a French version in 1512, but was, like all his productions, originally written in the Flemish vernacular, and translated into Latin under his superintendence by William Jordans. Böhlinger describes it as, "the most artistic production of German mediæval mysticism, and a true architectonic edifice." He was born at Ruysbroeck, a village near Brussels, in 1283, and after being ordained in 1318, was appointed Vicar of St. Gudule. In 1349 he entered the newly-established convent of Austin Regulars at Grœndal, of which he became the first prior. Hither came among many others John Tauler and Gerald Groote, the founder of the institution of the Brethren of the Common Life, to draw inspiration from his teaching. Ruysbroeck died in 1381. Both in the 17th and in the present century the Curia declined to declare his beatification. Although a loyal son of the Church, and opposed on principle to all heresy, he was a vigorous censor of clerical abuses. His standpoint was essentially that of contemplative mysticism, and no sermons remain of which he was the author. He is to be regarded as the originator of the movement which did so much to spiritualise religious thought and life in the Low Countries, though even in his own lifetime he can have been no isolated representative of mysticism there. Gerson's and Bossuet's strictures on his teaching were called forth by such *formulae* as the following: "To comprehend and understand God beyond all similitudes as He is in Himself, this is to be God with God, without intermediaries or otherhood whatever."

I.

## II.

### III.

Let my pure, simple Aim in whatever it be,  
Thro' Praise or Dispraise, be my Duty to Thee ;  
With a fixt Resolution still eyeing that Scope  
To admit of no other—Fear be it or Hope,— 20

But the Fear to offend Thee, the Hope to unite  
In Thy Honour and Praise with all Hearts that are right ;  
Wishing all the World well, but intent to fulfil,  
Be they pleas'd or displeas'd, Thy Adorable Will !

IV.

Preserve me, Dear Lord, from Presumption and Pride,  
That upon my own Actions would tempt to confide ;  
Let me have no Dependence on any but Thine,  
With a right Faith and Trust in Thy Merits Divine ;  
Still ready prepar'd, in each requisite Hour,  
Both to will and to work as Thou givest the Pow'r ; 30  
But may only Thy Love flame thro' all my whole Heart,  
And a false selfish Fire not affect the least Part !

V.

To this End let Thine Arrow pierce deeply within,  
Letting out all the Filth and Corruption of Sin ;  
All that in the most secret Recesses may lurk,  
To prevent or obstruct Thy Intention or Work !  
O give me the Knowledge, the Feeling and Sense  
Of Thy All-blessing Pow'r, Wisdom, Goodness Immense,—  
Of the Weakness, the Folly, the Malice alone,  
That, resisting Thy Will, I should find in my own ! 40

VI.

Never let me forget, never, while I draw Breath,  
What Thou hast done for me,—Thy Passion and Death ;  
The Wounds and the Grievs of Thy Body and Soul,  
When assuming our Nature Thou madest it Whole ;  
Taughtest how to engage in Thy Conquering Strife,  
And regain the Access to its True Divine Life ;

36. *Thy Intention or Work.* The will or the work inspired by Thee. Cf. *ante*, v. 30. 44. *Thou madest it Whole.* Thou healedst it.

Let the Sense of such Love kindle all my Desire,  
To be Thine my Life thro', Thine to die and expire !

## VII.

To Hearts in the Bond of Thy Charity Knit  
Ev'ry Thing become easy to do or omit ; 50  
The Labour is pleasant, the sharpest Degree  
Of Suff'ring can find Consolation in Thee.  
That which Nature affords, or an Object terrene,  
When it does not divert from a perfecter Scene,  
Is receiv'd with all Thanks, if Thou pleasest to grant,  
By a Mind, if Thou pleasest, as willing to want.

## VIII.

The Amusements on which it once set such a Store,  
Are now as insipid as grateful before ;  
With a much greater Comfort it gives up each Toy  
Than the fondest Possessor could ever enjoy. 60  
If e'er I propos'd such unsuitable Ends  
To the Thought of religious or secular Friends,  
Expel the vain Images, Fancies of Good,  
And in their Heart and mine make Thyself understood !

## IX.

Extinguish, O Lord, let not any one take,  
A Complacence in me which is not for Thy Sake ;  
In me, too, root out the Respect of all Kind  
Which does not arise from Thy Love in my Mind ;  
No Sorrow be spar'd, no Affliction, no Cross,  
That may further this Love or recover Its Loss ! 70  
This is always Thy Meaning ; O let it be mine,  
To confess Myself guilty, repent, and resign !

56. *As willing to want.* Not less willing to forego such natural consolations than to receive them.

61, 62. *Such unsuitable Ends.*  
*To the Thought, &c.*  
Ends so unsuitable to the thought.

X.

With a real Contempt of all Self-seeking Views.  
To embrace for my Choice what Thy Wisdom shall choose ;  
Looking up still to Thee, to receive all Event  
Which It wills or permits, with a thankful Content ;  
Not regarding what Men shall do to me, or why,  
But the provident Aim of Thine all-seeing Eye ;  
Ever watchful o'er them who persist, in each Place,  
To rely on Its Presence,—O give me Thy Grace ! 80

XI.

Tho' unworthy to ask it (poor Sinner !) I trust  
In the Merits and Death of a Saviour so just ;  
Whom the Father, well pleas'd in His Satisfied Will,  
The Design to save Sinners saw rightly fulfil.  
In me let Thy Grace, O Redeemer within,  
Re-establish His Justice and purge away Sin ;  
That, freed from its Evils, in me may be shown  
The Effect of Thy All-saving Merits alone !

XII.

May Death, and its Consequence, still in my Eyes  
So remind me to live that it may not surprise ; 90  
May the horrible Torments excite a due Dread,  
Which impenitent Sinners bring on their own Head ;  
May I never seek Peace, never find a Delight,  
But when I pursue what is good in Thy Sight !  
Whatsoever I do, suffer, feel to befall,  
Be Thou the Sole Cause, the One Reason of all !

73 *seqq.* *With a real Contempt, &c.*  
The whole of what follows is governed by  
the concluding words of the stanza :

O give me Thy Grace !  
87. *That, freed from its Evils, in me.*  
That in me, freed from the evils of sin.

## ON ATTENTION.

[The word "Attention" here has a significance which goes rather beyond that usually attached to it, although the adjective "attentive" appears to be thus employed in the Authorised Version. (See *St. Luke*, xix. 48.) The chief priests, &c., "could not find what they might do: for all the people were very attentive to hear him"; where the Greek has the strong expression ἐξεκρέματο αὐτοῦ ἀκούων, rendered literally in the Revised Version: "for the people all hung upon him, listening."

The *Introduction to The Grounds and Reasons of Christian Regeneration, or, The New Birth*, in *Law's Works*, vol. v., opens as follows: "I should reckon it a Matter of great Importance, if I knew how to bespeak the *serious Attention* of the Reader to one of the greatest articles of the Christian Religion, and of the greatest concern to himself."]

SACRED Attention! True effectual Prayer!  
 Thou dost the Soul for Love of Truth prepare.  
 Blest is the Man who, from Conjecture free,  
 To future Knowledge shall aspire by thee;  
 Who in thy Precepts seeks a sure Repose;  
 Stays till he sees, nor judges till he knows;—  
 Tho' firm not rash, tho' eager yet sedate,  
 Intent on Truth can Its Instruction wait;  
 Aw'd by thy powerful Influence to appeal  
 To Heaven, Which only can Itself reveal; 10  
 The soul in humble Silence to resign,  
 And human Will unite to the Divine;  
 Till, fir'd at length by Heaven's Enlivening Beams,  
 Pure, unconsum'd the faithful Victim flames!

10. *Which only can Itself reveal.* Where- an allusion here (though I cannot profess by alone truth—which is identical with to understand its force) to the bush wherein it—can be revealed. the Angel of the Lord appeared to Moses,

13. *Beams.* Cf. *ante*, p. 12, *et al.*

14. *Unconsum'd.* There seems to be which "burned with fire, and was not consumed." (*Exodus*, iii. 2.)

A PRAYER, USED BY FRANCIS THE FIRST, WHEN  
HE WAS AT WAR WITH THE EMPEROR  
CHARLES THE FIFTH.

[It is just possible that this "Prayer," the original of which I have again been unable to identify, may be modelled on a composition of some loyal Huguenot still labouring under a mistake as to the "religious stand-point" of King Francis the First. Since, however, I am unable to prove this, or to offer any other suggestion as to the origin of this prayer, I will content myself with placing side by side with it a thanksgiving uttered by Charles V. in the summer of 1521, on the occasion of the French invasion of Navarre. "God be praised that it is not I who have begun the war, and that the King of France intends to make me greater than I am. For within a little time, either I shall be a sorry Emperor, or he will be a poor King of France." (See Mignet, *Rivalité de François Ier et de Charles-Quint*, Paris, 1875, i. 270 and note.)]

ALMIGHTY Lord of Hosts, by Whose Commands  
The guardian Angels rule their destin'd Lands,  
And watchful at thy Word to save or stay  
Of Peace or War administer the Sway!  
Thou Who against the great Goliath's Rage  
Didst arm the Stripling David to engage,  
When with a Sling a small unarmèd Youth  
Smote a huge Giant in Defence of Truth,—  
Hear us, we pray Thee, if our Cause be true;  
If sacred Justice be our only View ;

10

2. *The guardian Angels rule their destin'd Lands.* This is a very natural developement of the theory of guardian angels, based upon a literal interpretation of such texts as *Ps. xci. 11*, on which Charles Wesley delivered a notable sermon (see Southey's *Life of Wesley*, ii. 517). Readers of Cowley will remember the awful assumption of the "Angel," who professed that "the Almighty had committed to him the Government of the three Kingdoms." If I remember right, the author of *John Inglesant*, with his usual instinct for contemporary colour, introduces the same notion in the course of his story.

If Right and Duty, not the Will to War  
 Have forc'd our Armies to proceed thus far !  
 Then, turn the Hearts of all our Foes to Peace,  
 That War and Bloodshed in the Land may cease ;  
 Or, put to Flight by Providential Dread,  
 Let them lament their Errors, not their Dead !  
 If some must die, protect the righteous all,  
 And let the guilty, few as may be, fall !  
 With pitying Speed the Victory decree  
 To them whose Cause is best approv'd by Thee ;                    20  
 That, sheath'd on all Sides the devouring Sword,  
 And Peace and Justice to our Land restor'd,  
 We all together with one Heart may sing  
 Triumphant Hymns to Thee, th' Eternal King !

15. *By Providential Dread.* By fear providentially excited in them.

---

A COMMENT ON THE FOLLOWING PASSAGE, IN  
 THE GENERAL CONFSSION OF SINS USED  
 IN THE CHURCH-LITURGY : "ACCORDING  
 TO THY PROMISES DECLARED UNTO  
 MANKIND IN CHRIST JESU  
 OUR LORD."

[These stanzas apply to a clause of the General Confession in our Church Service, which appears not to have been borrowed from any other liturgy, the doctrine of regeneration as expounded by Law in the *Appeal to All that Doubt*, and elsewhere. See the following passage in the *Appeal*, pp. 187-8 : "God, according to the Riches of his Love, raised a Man out of the Loins of *Adam*, in whose mysterious Person the *whole* Humanity and the *Word* of God were personally united . . . so that in this second *Adam* God and Man were one person. . . . Thus the holy Jesus became qualified to be the

*Second Adam*, or universal Regenerator of all that are born of *Adam* the first." (Law's *Works*, vol. vi.)

The reason why, in developing his scheme of Salvation, Law dwells so little on the repentance that must precede man's restoration by the remission of his sins, may perhaps be found in the circumstance, that in this scheme penitence is regarded as an integral element in the condition of the awakened sinner. "The whole Nature of the Christian Religion stands upon these *two great Pillars*, namely, the Greatness of our *Fall*, and the Greatness of our *Redemption*. In the full and true Knowledge of these Truths lie all the Reasons of a deep *Humility*, *Penitence*, and *Self-Denial*, and also all the Motives and Incitements to a most hearty, sincere, and total *Conversion* to God. And everyone is necessarily more or less of a true Penitent, according as he is more or less deeply and inwardly sensible of these truths." (*Of the Nature and Necessity of Regeneration*, p. 56, in *Works*, vol. v.) And again, of the awakened sinner: "The Voice of his inward Teacher is so ever speaking, so ever heard, and loved within him, that you can say nothing to him *outwardly* of any *Humility*, *Penitence*, or *Self-abasement*, but what is less than his own wounded Heart suggests to him. (*Ib.* p. 57.)]

I.

"*ACCORDING to Thy Promises*"—Hereby,

Since it is certain that God cannot lie,  
The truly Penitent may all be sure  
That Grace admits them to Its open Door;  
And they, forsaking all their former Sin,  
However great, will freely be let in.

II.

"*Declar'd*"—By all the Ministers of Peace  
God has assur'd Repentance of Release.

7, 8. <i>By all the Ministers of Peace</i>	penitent, the Absolution and Remission of
<i>God as assured Repentance of Release.</i>	their sins: He pardoneth and absolveth
"Almighty God . . . hath given power,	all them that truly repent, and unfeignedly
and commandment to his Ministers, to	believe his holy Gospel." ( <i>The Absolu-</i>
declare and pronounce to his people, being	<i>tion.</i> )

An intervening Penitence, we see,  
 Could even Change His positive Decree, 10  
 As in the *Ninivites*. If any Soul  
 Repent, the Promise is the sure Parole.

## III.

"*Unto Mankind*"—Not only to the Jews,  
 Christians or Turks in Writings which they use ;  
 Writ on the Tablet of each conscious Heart :  
 "Repent ; from all Iniquity depart !"   
 Not for no Purpose ; for the plain Intent  
 Is Restoration, if a Soul repent.

## IV.

"*In Christ*"—By Whom true Scripture has assur'd  
 Redeeming Grace for Penitents procur'd. 20  
 The fainter Hopes, which Reason may suggest,  
 Are deeply by the Gospel's Aid imprest.  
 'Twas always hop'd for, was the Promis'd Good,  
 But by His Coming clearly understood.

## V.

"*Jesu*"—Jehovah's Manifested Love  
 In Christ, th' Anointed Saviour from Above.

9. *An intervening Penitence*. Repen-  
 tance intervening between the pronounce-  
 ment and the execution of His sentence.

10. *As in the NINIVITES*. "And God  
 saw their works, that they turned from  
 their evil way ; and God repented of the  
 evil that he had said that he would do  
 unto them ; and he did it not." (*Jonah*,  
 iii. 10.)

12. *The Promise is the sure Parole*.  
 God's promise may be depended on.

14. *In Writings which they use*. In  
 the written documents of their faith.

15. *Writ*. It is written.

19, 20. "*In Christ*," &c. "And that  
 repentance and remission of sins should be  
 preached in his name among all nations,"  
 &c. (*St. Luke*, xxiv. 47.)

The Demonstration of the Saving Plan  
 For all Mankind is God's becoming Man ;  
 No Truth more firmly ascertain'd than this :  
 "Repent, be faithful, and restor'd to Bliss !" 30

VI.

"Our Lord"—Our New and True Parental Head,  
 Our *Second Adam*, in the first when dead ;  
 Who took our Nature on Him, that in Men  
 His Father's Image might shine forth again.  
 Sure of Success may Penitents implore  
 What God through Him rejoices to restore.

27. *The Saving Plan.* The scheme of died in the first Adam. (See *1st Corinthians*, xv. 22 : "For as in Adam all die, salvation. even so in Christ shall all be made alive.")  
 32. *In the first when dead.* When we have

---

## ON CHURCH COMMUNION

IN SEVEN PARTS ; FROM A LETTER OF MR. LAW'S.

[The "letter of Mr. Law's" paraphrased in these stanzas—although the poem in the later *Parts* becomes rather a comment on the text than a reproduction of it—is the second of the *Collection of Letters on the most Interesting and Important Subjects, and on several occasions*, of which the second edition (1769) is included in vol. ix. of Law's *Works* (1772). It is dated February 28th, 1756, and addressed "to Mr. J. L.," who, as Canon Overton thinks, was probably John Lindsay, a friend and correspondent of Byrom's, and an acquaintance and warm admirer of Law's. (See Overton, *William Law*, p. 336, and cf. *ib.*, 371. As to John Lindsay, of St. Mary's Hall, Oxford, and minister of the non-jurors in Trinity Chapel, Aldersgate Street, London, see *Remains*, ii. 532. He published in 1726 a translation, with additions, of Mason's *Vindication of the Church of England*.) On

the subject of this letter, viz., Church Communion, as a comparison with the well-known *Letters to the Bishop of Bangor* (reprinted in vol. i. of *Works*) suffices to show, Law's views had undergone what would perhaps be incorrectly described as a change, but may certainly be called a modification.

In a curious passage in Byrom's *Diary* of July 2nd, 1737 (*Remains*, ii. 182), he states that in conversation with him, Charles Wesley said: "Do not you think that a palpable mistake of Mr. Law's in his *Serious Call*," [chapter i.] "That there is no command for public worship in Scripture?" "He said," adds Byrom, "that it was much that he would not leave it out; and I endeavoured to show him what a trifling objection it was, but he persisted a little obstinately, and I thought that it was better let alone the contention about it." Canon Parkinson properly points out in a note that Law's object in this chapter, as in the *Letter to Mr. J. L.*, was to excite a devotional spirit, as opposed to formalism; moreover, it is well known that Law was himself a regular attendant upon the services of the Church of England, to which his allegiance remained unbroken. Perhaps I may add that the conception of *Eusebius*, in chap. i. of the *Serious Call*, reappears at the beginning of Part ii. of *The Spirit of Prayer*, in the more elaborate character of *Philo*, who "for this twenty years has been collecting and reading all the *spiritual* books he can hear of," but who "never thinks how wonderful it is that a Man who knows Regeneration to be the Whole, should yet content himself with the Love of Books upon the new Birth, instead of being born again himself"]

## PART FIRST.

### I.

RELIGION, Church-Communion, or the Way  
Of public Worship that we ought to pay,  
As it regards the Body and the Mind  
Is of external and internal Kind,—

<sup>1</sup> *seqq.* Religion, Church-Communion, *nal*, which are thus united, and thus distinguished; the one is the *outward sign*, the other is the *inward truth* signified by it :  
&c. "Religion, or church communion, is in its true nature both *external* and *inter-*

The one confiding in the outward Sign,  
The other in the Inward Truth Divine.

II.

This Inward Truth, intended to be shown  
So far as outward Signs can make it known,  
Is that which gives external Modes a Worth,  
Just in Proportion as they shew it forth,— 10  
Just as they help, in any outward Part,  
The real, true Religion of the Heart.

III.

Now, what this is, exclusive of all Strife,  
Christians will own to be an Inward Life,  
Spirit and Pow'r—a Birth, to say the Whole,  
Of Christ Himself, brought forth within the Soul ;  
By this all True Salvation is begun  
And carried on, however It be done.

IV.

Christianity that has not Christ within,  
Can by no Means whatever save from Sin ; 20  
Can bear no Evidence of Him, the End  
On Which the Value of all Means depend.  
Christian Religion signifies, no doubt,  
Like Mind within, like Show of it without.

the one never was, nor ever can be, in its true state without the other." [The language of course is that of the definition of the word *Sacrament* in the latter portion of the Church Catechism, which was not added till 1604.] "The *inward truth*, or church, is *regeneration*, or the life, spirit, and power of Christ, quickened and brought to life in the soul. The *outward sign*, or church, is that outward *form* or manner of life, that bears full witness to the truth of this regenerated life of Christ formed or revealed in the soul." (*Letter to Mr. J. L.*, p. 5.) 13. *Exclusive of all strife.* Setting aside all controversy.

## V.

The Will of God, the Saving of Mankind,  
 Was all that Christ had in His Inward Mind;  
 All that produc'd His Outward Action too,  
 In Church Communion while a perfect Jew,—  
 Like most of His Disciples, till they came  
 At *Antioch* to have a Christian Name. 30

## VI.

If Christ has put an End to Rites of old,—  
 If new recall what was but then foretold,—  
 The One True Church, the Real Heav'nly Ground  
 Wherein alone Salvation can be found,  
 Is still the Same, and to its Saviour's Praise  
 His Inward Tempers outwardly displays ;

## VII.

By hearty Love and correspondent Rites  
 Ordain'd, the Members to the Head unites  
 And to each other. In all stated Scenes  
 The Life of Christ is what a Christian means ; 40  
 Tho' Change of Circumstance may alter those,  
 In This he places and enjoys Repose.

25 *seqq.* *The Will of God, the Saving of Mankind, &c.* "Inwardly nothing lived in Christ but the sole will of God, a perpetual regard to his glory, and one continual desire of the salvation of all mankind. When this spirit is in us, then we are inwardly one with Christ, and united to God through him." (*Ib.*)

29, 30. *Till they came At ANTIOCH to have a Christian Name.*  
 "And the disciples were called Chris-

tians first in Antioch." (*Acts*, xi. 26.)

31. *If Christ has put an End to Rites of old.* Cf. *Romans*, vi. 14 : "Ye are not under the law, but under grace."

32. *Foretold.* Typically.

39, 40. *In all stated Scenes, The Life of Christ is what a Christian means.*

To the Christian that which is signified under all external forms or conditions is the following of Christ's example.

VIII.

Church Unity is held, and Faith's Increase,  
By that "of Spirit, in the Bond of Peace,  
And Righteousness of Life ;" without this Tie  
Forms are in vain prescrib'd to worship by,  
Or Temples modell'd ; Hearts as well as Hands  
An Holy Church and Catholic demands.

44, 45. *Of Spirit in the Bond of Peace* Men.) Cf. *Ephesians*, iv. 3: "En-  
*And Righteousness of Life.* deavoured to keep the unity of the Spirit  
"That all who profess and call themselves in the bond of peace."  
Christians may be led into the way of 47. *Hearts as well as Hands.* Cf.  
truth, and hold the faith in unity of spirit, *Hebrews*, ix. 11: "A greater and more  
in the bond of peace, and in righteousness perfect tabernacle, not made with  
of life." (*Prayer for all Conditions of hands.*)

PART SECOND.

I.

IF once establish'd the essential Part,  
The Inward Church, the Temple of the Heart  
Or House of God, the Substance and the Sum  
Of what is pray'd for in "Thy Kingdom come,"—  
To make an outward Correspondence true,  
We must recur to Christ's Example too.

II.

Now, in His Outward Form of Life we find  
Goodness demonstrated of ev'ry Kind.

6. *We must recur to Christ's Example* exercised every kind of love, kindness and  
*too.* We must in this respect also recur compassion to the souls and bodies of men;  
to Christ's example. . . . now this, and such like outward  
7 *seqq.* "Now, in His outward Form of behaviour of Christ, thus separate from,  
*Life we find, &c.*" "Outwardly, Christ and contrary to, the spirit, wisdom and

What He was born for, that He show'd throughout ;  
 It was the Bus'ness that He went about, 10  
 Love, Kindness and Compassion to display  
 Tow'rds ev'ry Object coming in His Way.

## III.

But Love so High, Humility so Low,  
 And all the Virtues which His Actions show,—  
 His doing Good and His enduring Ill  
 For Man's Salvation and God's Holy Will,  
 Exceed all Terms : His Inward, Outward Plan  
 Was Love to God express'd by Love to Man.

## IV.

Mark of the Church which He establish'd, then,  
 Is the same Love, same Proof of it to Men. 20  
 Without, let Sects parade it how they list,  
 Nor Church, nor Unity can e'er subsist ;  
 The Name may be usurp'd, but Want of Pow'r  
 Will shew the Babel, high or low the Tow'r.

## V.

And where the same Behaviour shall appear  
 In outward Form, that was in Christ so clear,  
 There is the very Outward Church that He  
 Will'd all Mankind to shew, and all to see ;  
 Of which whoever shews it from the Heart,  
 Is both an inward and an outward Part. 30

way of this world, was that *very outward church* unity, and is the true inward and outward Christian." (*Letter to J. L.*, 5-6.)  
 become visible and living members. And 17. *His Inward, Outward Plan.* His  
 whoever in the spirit of Christ lives in the plan, which referred to both inward and  
*outward exercise* of these virtues, lives as outward conditions.  
 to himself in the highest perfection of 21. *Without.* Without it.

VI.

What Excommunication can deprive  
A pious Soul that is in Christ alive,  
Of Church-Communion, or cut off a Limb  
That Life and Action both unite to Him,  
For any Circumstance of Place or Time,  
Or Mode or Custom, which infers no Crime ?

VII.

If He be That Which His belovèd *John*  
Calls Him, "the Light Enlight'ning ev'ryone  
That comes into the World,"—will He exclude  
One from His Church, whose Mind He has renew'd 40  
To such Degree as to exert, in fact,  
Like inward Temper and like outward Act ?

VIII.

Invisible and visible Effect  
Of true Church Membership in each Respect

31 *seqq.* *What Excommunication can deprive, &c.* This passage is not to be found in Law's letter, although flowing logically from his argument. It does not, on the other hand, appear very consonant with the section on *Excommunication* in Law's *Reply to the Bishop of Bangor* (Hoadly's *Answer, &c.* (*Works*, i. 113), where he argues: "All Persons are admitted conditionally into the Christian Covenant, and have only a Title to the Benefits of it . . . as they perform the Conditions of their Admission; and those same Persons who have alone the authority to admit them into the Church upon those Conditions, have alone the Authority to exclude them for Non-performance. And

their Act of Exclusion is as *effectual* towards the taking from them all the Privileges of Christians, and as truly makes them *Aliens* from the Kingdom of God, as their Act of Admission at first entitled them to all the Benefits of Church-Communion. For, as they have as much Authority to exclude some, as they have to admit others, into the Church, the Authority being the same in both Cases, it must be in both Cases *equally* effectual." (See *Introductory Note.*)

38, 39. *The Light enlight'ning ev'ryone That comes into the World*  
See *St. John*, i. 9: "That was the true Light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world."

Let the One Shepherd from Above behold !  
 The Flocks, howe'er dispers'd, are His one Fold ;  
 Seen by their Hearts, and their Behaviour too,  
 They all stand present in His gracious View.

46. *The Flocks, howe'er dispers'd, are* ever so distant or separate from one another. (Letter to J. L., p. 7.) Cf. *St. John*, x. 16 : "And there shall be one fold, and one shepherd."

---

### PART THIRD.

#### I.

A LOCAL Union, on the other Hand,  
 Tho' crowded Numbers should together stand,  
 Joining in one same Form of Pray'r and Praise,  
 Or Creed express'd in regulated Phrase,  
 Or aught beside,—tho' it assume the Name  
 Of Christian Church, may want the real Claim.

#### II.

For if it want the Spirit and the Sign  
 That constitute all Worship as Divine,  
 The Love within, the Test of it without,  
 In vain the Union passes for devout.  
 Heartless and tokenless if it remain,  
 It ought to pass, in Strictness, for profane.

10

#### III.

At first, an Unity of Heart and Soul,  
 A Distribution of an outward Dole,

13. *A Distribution of an outward Dole.* of the "active brotherly love" of the early Christians, given by Neander, in the Section on *Christian Life*, in vol. i. of his  
 See the account of the institution of Deacons in *Acts*, vi.; and cf. the illustrations

And ev'ry Member of the Body fed,  
As equally belonging to the Head,  
With what it wanted, was without Suspense  
True Church Communion in full Christian Sense.

IV.

Whether averse the Many or the Few  
To hold Communion in this righteous View, 20  
Their Thought commences Heresy, their Deed  
Schismatical, tho' they profess the Creed.  
Ways of distributing, if new, should still  
Maintain the old communicative Will.

V.

Broken by ev'ry loveless, thankless Thought,  
And not behaving as a Christian ought,—  
By want of Meekness, or a Show of Pride  
Tow'rds any Soul for whom our Saviour died,—

*General History of the Christian Church and Religion.* "In afflictions of this sort," wrote Bishop Cyprian of Carthage, in transmitting a gift collected by him to the suffering Numidian churches, 'who would not feel pained, who would not look on the distress of his brother as his own, when the apostle Paul tells us, "if one member suffer, all the members suffer with it" [*1st Corinthians*, xiii. 26], and again, "Who is weak, and I am not weak?" [*2nd Corinthians*, xi. 29]. Wherefore in the present case also we must regard the captivity of our brethren as our own, and the distress of those now in peril as our own, since we are bound together in one body.'" (*Engl. Tr.*, 1850, i. 335.)

17. *Without suspense.* Without any sort of hesitation or doubt.

19 *seqq.* *Whether averse the Many or the*

*Few*, &c. "Every *aversion* to be inwardly all love, and outwardly all weakness, gentleness, courtesy, and condescension in words and actions towards every creature for whom Christ died, makes us *schismatics*, though we be ever so daily gathered together into one and the same place, joining in one and the same form of creeds, prayers, and praises offered to God, and is truly a *leaving* or *breaking* that church unity, which makes us one with Christ as our head, and unites us with men as the members of his body." (*Letter to J. L.*, p. 7.)

23 *seqq.* *Ways of distributing*, &c. Although the methods of distributing the things of this world may have altered, they should still preserve the spirit of giving a share in them to all by which the early Christians were animated. (Cf. l. 14, *ante*.)

While this continues, Men may pray and preach  
In all their Forms, but none will heal the Breach. 30

## VI.

Whatever Helps an outward Form may bring  
To Church Communion, it is not the Thing,  
Nor a Society, as such, nor Place,  
Nor anything besides Uniting Grace ;  
They are but Accessories at the most  
To true Communion of the Holy Ghost.

## VII.

This is th' essential Fellowship, the Tie  
Which all true Christians are united by ;  
No other Union does them any Good  
But that which Christ cemented with His Blood 40  
As God and Man : that, having lost it, Men  
Might live in Unity with God again.

## VIII.

What He came down to bring us from Above  
Was Grace and Peace, and Law-fulfilling Love ;  
True Spirit-Worship, which His Father sought,  
Was the sole End of what He did and taught ;  
That God's Own Church and Kingdom might begin,  
Which Moses and the Prophets usher'd in.

32. *The Thing.* The essence of it.      certain, that no one can serve or worship  
33. *Nor a Society.* Nor is a Society.      God through Christ his Lord in any other  
34. *Uniting Grace.* See the text cited      way, help, power, or means, but so far as  
*ante*, Part i. l. 31.      it is all done in and by the power of the  
41. *That, having lost it.* In order      same Holy Spirit." (*Letter to F. L.*, p. 9.)  
that, having lost unity with God.      See *St. John*, xiv. 23 : "But the hour  
45. *True Spirit-Worship which His*      cometh, and now is, when the true wor-  
*Father sought.* "For if it be certain that      shippers shall worship the Father in spirit  
no one can own Christ as his Lord but by      and in truth : for the Father seeketh such  
the Holy Spirit, then it must be equally      to worship him." (Cf. *Letter*, p. 11.)

PART FOURTH.

I.

“THE Church of Christ, as thus you represent,  
And all the World is of the same Extent.  
*Jews, Turks, or Pagans* may be Members too ;  
This, some may call a dreadful mystic Clue,  
A Combination of the Quaker Schemes  
With latitudinarian Extremes.”

II.

They may ; but Names, so ready at the Call  
Of such as want them, have no Force at all  
To overthrow momentous Truths and plain,  
The very Points of Scripture and the main ; 10  
Such as distinguish in the clearest View  
Th' enlighten'd *Christian* from the half-blind *Few*.

4. *A dreadful mystic Clue.* A “clue” or “clew” is a ball of thread, hence a tangle. So in *All's Well that Ends Well*, i. 3, 172-3 :

“Speak, is't so ?  
If it be so, you have wound a goodly clew.”  
Earlier in the same speech, the Countess tells Helena that she now sees “the mystery of her loneliness.” Cf. l. 25, *infra*, “his Gospel Clue” or mystery.

5. *The Quaker schemes.* So Barclay, in his *Apology*, writing of the *lumen divinum* asserts “*hujus luminis operationibus quosdam fuisse servatos et adhuc posse servari, quibus nec historia Christi externa unquam nota.*” According to him, the members of the Body of Christ are also to be found among pagans, Jews and Turks ; and the Holy Ghost spoke also in Cicero, Plato and Seneca. See as to the signi-

ficance of this thought, of which traces are to be found even in Fox, *Weingarten, Die Revolutionen Rirchen England's* (1868 207) note. So Henrick Niclaes, the founder (1555) of the sect called the *Family of Love*, maintained “that the essence of religion consisted in the feelings of divine love ; that all other theological tenets, whether they related to objects of faith or modes of worship, were of no sort of moment.” See *Worthington's Diary and Correspondence* (edited by R. C. Christie for the Chetham Society, 1886), ii. 2, 370 note.

6. “*With latitudinarian Extremes.*” Cf. for instance Bishop Hoadly's definition of “the Universal Invisible Church,” against which Law argued in the Section “Of the Nature of the Church” in his *Reply to the Bishop of Bangor's Answer*, &c., pp. 6 *seqq.* (*Works*, vol. i.)

## III.

What did the Sheet let down to *Peter* mean,  
 Who call'd the *Gentiles* common, or, unclean?  
 Let *Peter* answer: "God was pleas'd to show  
 That I should call no Man whatever so;  
 In ev'ry Nation he that serves Him right,  
 Is clean, accepted, in His Equal Sight."

## IV.

If *Peter* said so, who will question *Paul*?  
 He, in a Manner, made this Point his all. 20  
 The real Sense of what has here been said  
 In mystic *Paul* is plainly to be read;  
 Nothing but obstinate Dislike to Terms  
 Obscures what all the Testament affirms.

## V.

The *Jews* objected, to his Gospel Clue,  
 A, "What Advantage therefore hath the *Jew*;"  
 Or, "Of what Use is to be circumcis'd?"  
 So may some *Christians* say, "to be baptis'd;"  
 May form like Questions, like Conclusions draw,  
 And urge the Church, as they did, and the Law. 30

25. To this Gospel.—B.

13. *The Sheet let down to Peter.* See *his all.* See *Romans*, xi. 13: "For I speak to you Gentiles, inasmuch as I am *Acts*, x. 11-13. the apostle of the Gentiles."

15 *segg.* Let *PETER* answer, &c. See *ib.*, 28, 35: "God hath showed me that I should not call any man common or unclean. . . . But in every nation he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him." 26, 27. *A*, "*What Advantage therefore hath the Jew?*" Or "*Of what Use is to be circumcis'd?*" See *Romans* iii. 1: "What advantage then hath the Jew? or what profit is there of circumcision?"

20. *He, in a Manner, made this Point*

*circumcision?*"

VI.

Th' Apostle's Reas'ning from the common Want  
Of God's Free Grace, its Universal Grant  
By Jesus Christ, its Reach to all Mankind  
For whom the same Salvation was design'd,—  
Shows that His Church, as Boundless as His Grace,  
Extends Itself to all the human Race.

VII.

With pious *Jews* of old "our King" implied  
The one true King of all the Earth beside;  
Whose regal Right, tho' He was pleas'd to call  
*Jacob* His Lot, extended over all. 40  
Tho' *Israel* gloried in acknowledg'd Light,  
Its Virtue was not bounded by their Sight.

VIII.

So will a *Christian* Piety confess  
A Church of Christ with Boundaries no less;  
Will speak, as ev'ry conscious Witness ought,  
To what it knows, but scorn the partial Thought  
Of Grace, or Truth, or Righteousness confin'd  
To Modes and Customs of external Kind.

31. *Th' Apostle's Reas'ning, &c.* See the same chapter, vv. 21-31.

37 *seqq.* With pious *Jews* of old "OUR KING" implied, &c. Whatever may be thought of this proposition as a generalised assertion, it may certainly be considered to hold good of such a passage as that in *Isaiah*, xxxiii. 22, when taken in conjunction with the earlier verses of the following chapter: "For the LORD is our judge, the LORD is our lawgiver, the LORD is our King; he will save us."

40. *JACOB His Lot.* See *Deuteronomy*, xxxii. 9: "For the LORD's portion is his people; Jacob is the lot of his inheritance."

## PART FIFTH.

## I.

THE Church, consider'd only as possess  
 Of *England, Rome, Geneva* and the rest,—  
 Notion of Church so popularly rife,  
 Such Cause of endless Enmity and Strife,—  
 Did but arise in a succeeding Hour,  
 When *Christians* came to have a worldly Pow'r.

## II.

The first Apostles spread from Place to Place  
 The Gospel News of Universal Grace ;  
 Inviting all to enter by Belief  
 Into the Church of their Redeeming Chief ;—  
 Entrance accessible in ev'ry Part,  
 And shut to Nothing but a faithless Heart.

## III.

But when the Princes of the World became,  
 And Kings, Protectors of the Christian Name,  
 Pow'r made ambitious Pastors, Ease remiss,  
 And Churches dwindl'd into *that* and *this* ;  
 The one, divided, came to want of course  
 Supports quite foreign to its native Force.

*I seqq. The Church, consider'd only as possess, &c.* "I come now to consider the church under another, and more common, idea of it, namely as external, and about which all the Christian world is at enmity, strife and debate." (*Letter to J. L.*, p. 15.)

*13 seqq. But when the Princes of the World became, &c.* "After Christianity had been a few ages in the world, it be-

came national, and obtained the protection and patronage of the princes of this world. Hence it was enriched with many gifts and privileges, and strengthened by powers that were *foreign* to the nature of it ; and churchmen, beginning to quarrel about Christian doctrines, were supported in their strife and division from one another by the temporal powers under which they lived." (*Ib.*)

IV.

Contentions rose, all tending to create  
Still new Alliances of Church and State, 20  
Form'd and reform'd, and turn'd and overturn'd,  
As Force prevail'd and human Passion burn'd.  
Old Revolutions, when by new dissolv'd,  
Both Church and State accordingly revol'd.

V.

Such is the Mixture of an human Sway  
In all external Churches at this Day,—  
To the same Changes liable anew,  
That Forms of Government are subject to ;  
While the one Church, in its true Sense, in Name  
And Thing remains unchangeably the same. 30

VI.

The private Christian, bearing Christ in Mind,  
Whose Kingdom was not of a worldly Kind,

23, 24. *Old Revolutions*, &c. When old revolutions were dissolved by new, both Church and State were revolutionised accordingly.

25 *seqq.* *Such is the Mixture of an human Sway*, &c. "This state of the church hath continued to this day, where almost every age hath multiplied the number of divided churches, brought forth by the union of the civil and ecclesiastical power. This state, therefore, of external churches hath the nature of things *merely human*, and is subject to such *alterations, changes and corruptions* as the forms and revolutions of temporal government all over the world. And, therefore, the private Christian, who as such is a member of a Kingdom that is not of this world,

has little or no concern in it." (*Ib.*, 15-16.)

31 *seqq.* "*The private Christian*," &c. "But as private Christians have no power or call to govern the world, or set up thrones according to the principles of truth and righteousness, but are by the spirit of the gospel obliged to submit to, and be contented with, that state of government, good or bad, under which the providence of God has placed them, so are they, in like manner, to exercise a patient submission and resignation under such an imperfect state of the outward church which providence has not prevented, and only to take care to be inwardly found such worshippers in spirit and in truth, as the Father seeketh." (*Ib.* 16-17.)

Has little, or has no Concern at all,  
 With these external Changes that befall.  
 Let Providence permit them or prevent,  
 With Truth and Spirit he remains content.

## VII.

Not that he thinks that Evil, more or less,  
 Is in its Nature alter'd by Success ;  
 The Good is good, tho' suff'ring a Defeat,  
 The Bad but worse, if its Success be great ;  
 He measures neither by th' Event that's past,  
 For what they were at first they are at last.

40

## VIII.

But, by the Spirit of the Gospel free,  
 Whatever State of Government it be  
 That God has plac'd him under, to submit,  
 So in the Church he thinks the Freedom fit ;  
 Whilst, on Occasion of the outward Part,  
 He can present what God requires,—an Heart.

37 *seqq.* "*Now that he thinks that Evil.*" either in church or state, which the providence of God has not thought fit to prevent." (*Ib.* 17-18.)  
 &c. "The duty of private Christians with regard to providence in such cases is not to call that good which before was evil, or that evil which before was good, but patiently to suffer, and humbly acquiesce, under all that bad outward course of things" 43 *seqq.* "*But, by the Spirit of the Gospel free, &c.* But being in accordance with the Spirit of the Gospel allowed the freedom of submitting.

## PART SIXTH.

## I.

THE Heart is what the God of it demands,  
 Who "dwelleth not in Temples made with Hands."

2. *Who "dwelleth not in Temples made with Hands."* Acts, vii. 48 : "Howbeit the Most High dwelleth not in temples made with hands"; cf. *ib.* xvii. 24 : "God

When Hands have made them, if no Hearts are found  
Dispos'd aright to consecrate the Ground,  
Vainly is Worship said to be Divine,  
While in the Breast its Object has no Shrine.

II.

But if it has, in that devoted Breast  
A right Intention surely will be blest ;  
Tho' Forms, prescrib'd by Pastors in the Chair,  
Should be adjusted with less perfect Care ; 10  
Tho', in some Points, the Services assign'd  
Differ from those of apostolic Kind.

III.

What outward Church, or Form, shall we select,  
That is not chargeable with some Defect ?  
Each is prepar'd in all the rest to grant  
A Superfluity, or else a Want,  
Or both,—a Distance from Perfection wide,  
Retorted on itself by all beside.

IV.

What safer Remedy than pure Intent  
To seek the Good by any of them meant, 20  
Which He Who mindeth only what the Heart  
Brings of its own, is ready to impart ?  
No human Pow'r, should it enjoin amiss  
A ceremonious Rite, can hinder this.

that made the world and all things therein,  
seeing that he is Lord of heaven and  
earth, dwelleth not in temples made with  
hands."

14 *seqq.* *What outward Church, or  
Form, shall we select, &c.* "This state

therefore of external churches hath the  
nature of things *merely human*, and is  
subject to such *alterations, changes, and  
corruptions*, as the forms of temporal gov-  
ernment all over the world." (*Letter to*  
*J. L.*, p. 16.)

## V.

Even in Sacrament, what frequent Storms  
 Has Superstition rais'd about the Forms!  
 In Rites baptismal, which the true Result?  
 Immersion, Sprinkling? Infants, or th' adult?  
 In the Lord's Supper, does the Celebration  
 Make *Trans*-, or *Con*-, or *Non*-substantiation? 30

## VI.

These, and a World of Controversies more,  
 Serve to enlarge the bibliothecal Store;  
 While Champions make Antiquity their Boast,  
 And all pretend to imitate it most,—  
 Prone to neglect for criticising Pique  
 Essential Truths eternally antique.

## VII.

Thus inward Worship lies in low Estate,  
 Opprest with endless Volumes of Debate  
 About the outward; soon as old ones die,  
 All undecided, comes a new Supply 40  
 Of needless Doubts to a religious Soul,  
 Whose upright Meaning dissipates the Whole.

## VIII.

Clear of all worldly, interested Views,  
 The one Design of Worship it pursues;  
 Turns all to Use that public Form allows,  
 By off'ring up its ever private Vows

25 *seqq.* *Even in Sacrament, what frequent Storms*, &c. "As to any defects, mutilations, or variations in the outward form and performance of baptism and the supper of the Lord in the church, I am under little or no concern about them; and that for this very good reason,—Because all that is inwardly meant, taught, or intended by them, as the life, spirit, and full benefit of them, is subject to no human power . . ." (*Ib.*, 20.)

32. *The bibliothecal store.* Libraries.

For the Success of all the Good design'd  
By Christ, the Common Saviour of Mankind.

PART SEVENTH.

I.

A CHRISTIAN, in so catholic a Sense,  
Can give to none but partial Minds Offence.  
Forc'd to live under some divided Part,  
He keeps entire the Union of the Heart,—  
The sacred Tie of Love ; by which alone  
Christ said that His Disciples would be known.

II.

He values no Distinction, as profest  
By way of Separation from the rest,—  
Oblig'd in Duty and inclin'd by Choice  
In all the Good of any to rejoice ;  
From ev'ry Evil, Falsehood or Mistake  
To wish them free, for common Comfort's Sake.

III.

Freedom,—to which the most undoubted Way  
Lies in Obedience (where it always lay)  
To Christ Himself Who with an inward Call  
Knocks at the Door, that is, the Heart of all.

5, 6. *By which alone*  
*Christ said that His Disciples would be*  
*known.*

“By this shall all men know that ye are my  
disciples, if ye have love one to another.”  
(*St. John*, xiii. 35.)

7 *segg.* “*He values no Distinction, as*  
*profest, &c.*” “I cannot consider myself  
as belonging only to one society of Chris-

tians, in separation and distinction from  
all others.” (*Ib.*, 24.)

15, 16. *To Christ Himself Who with an*  
*inward Call*  
*Knocks at the Door.*

“Behold, I stand at the door, and knock :  
if any man hear my voice and open the  
door, I will come in to him.” (*Revelation*,  
iii. 20.)

At the Reception of this Heav'nly Guest  
All Good comes in, all Evil quits the Breast.

## IV.

The free Receiver, then, becomes content  
With what God orders, or does not prevent. 20  
To them that love Him, all Things, he is sure,  
Must work for Good ; tho' how, may be obscure ;  
Even successful Wickedness, when past,  
Will bring to them some latent Good at last.

## V.

Fall'n as divided Churches are and gone  
From the Perfection of the Christian one,  
Respect is due to any that contains  
The venerable, tho' but faint, Remains  
Of ancient Rule, which had not in its View  
The Letter only, but the Spirit too. 30

## VI.

When that Variety of new-found Ways  
Which People so run after in our Days,  
Has done its utmost ; when " Lo here, Lo there,"  
Shall yield to inward Seeking and sincere,—  
What was at first, may come to be again  
The Praise of Church-Assemblies amongst Men.

## VII.

Meanwhile, in that to which we now belong,  
To mind in public Lesson, Pray'r and Song,  
Teaching and Preaching, what conduces best  
To true Devotion in the private Breast,— 40

33. *Lo here, Lo there.* " Then if any or there ; believe it not." (*St. Matthew,*  
man shall say unto you, Lo, here is Christ, xxiv. 23.)

Willing increase of Good to ev'ry Soul,—  
Seems to be our Concern upon the whole.

VIII.

So God and Christ and holy Angels stand  
Dispos'd to ev'ry Church in ev'ry Land,  
The Growth of Good still helping to complete  
Whatever Tares be sown amongst the Wheat.  
Who would not wish to have and to excite  
A Disposition so Divinely right ?

43 *seqq.* So God and Christ and holy Angels stand, &c. "And as I know that God and Christ, and holy angels, stand thus disposed towards all that is good in all men, and in all churches, notwithstanding the mixture in them is like that of tares growing up with the wheat, so I am not afraid, but humbly desirous, of living and dying in this disposition towards them." (*Letter to J. L.*, p. 25.)  
47. To have and to excite. To have in himself and to excite in others.

---

A DYING SPEECH ;

FROM MR. LAW.

[This "Dying Speech" is, I take it, to be understood as expressing the substance, or, perhaps I should rather say, the spirit, of the concluding paragraph of Law's *Letter to Mr. J. L.* (*Letter II.* of the *Collection of Letters on the Most Interesting and Important Subjects*, &c., included in vol. ix. of his *Works*), when read in conjunction with the general argument of the *Letter* at large. As to this, see the poem *On Church Communion*, *ante*, pp. 439 *seqq.*, and the *Introductory Note*. The concluding paragraphs (pp. 24-5) are the following :

"Under this light, I am neither protestant, nor papist, according to the common acceptance of the words.—I cannot consider myself as belonging only to one society of Christians, in separation and distinction from all others.—It would be as hurtful to me, if not more so, than any worldly partiality. And therefore as the defects, corruptions, and imperfections, which, some way or other, are to be found in all the churches, hinder not my communion with that under which my lot is fallen, so neither

do they hinder my being in full union and hearty fellowship with all that is Christian, holy, and good, in every other church-division.

“And as I know that God and Christ, and holy angels, stand thus disposed towards all that is good in all men, and in all churches, notwithstanding the mixture in them is like that of tares growing up with the wheat, so I am not afraid, but humbly desirous, of living and dying in this disposition towards them.”

Law, says Canon Overton (*William Law*, p. 338), “never ceased to be a regular worshipper in his own parish church; and this was the uniform tenor of his advice to all who, like his personal correspondent, consulted him on the subject.” It is unnecessary to add that Byrom, notwithstanding his Jacobite leanings, never swerved from his allegiance to the Established Church, and indeed seems in his younger days to have found no difficulty in the Abjuration Oath. (Cf. *Remains*, i. 24.)]

IN this unhappily divided State  
 That Christian Churches have been in of late,  
 One must, however catholic the Heart,  
 Join and conform to some divided Part.  
 The *Church of England* is the Part, that I  
 Have always liv'd in, and now choose to die;  
 Trusting, that if I worship God with her  
 In Spirit and in Truth, I shall not err;  
 But as acceptable to Him be found,  
 As if, in Times for one pure Church renown'd      10  
 Born, I had also liv'd in Heart and Soul,  
 A faithful Member of the unbroken Whole.

As I am now, by God's good Will, to go  
 From this disorder'd State of Things below;  
 Into His Hands as I am now to fall,  
 Who is the Great Creator of us all,—  
 God of all Churches that implore His Aid,—  
 Lover of all the Souls that He hath made;

7.      *If I worship God with her*      him must worship him in spirit and in  
          *In Spirit and in Truth.*      truth.” (*St. John*, iv. 24.)  
 “God is a Spirit; and they that worship

Whose Kingdom, that of Universal Love,  
 Must have its blest Inhabitants above. 20  
 From ev'ry Class of Men, from all the good,  
 Howe'er descended from one human Blood :—  
 So, in this loving Spirit, I desire,  
 As in the midst of all their sacred Quire,  
 With Rites prescrib'd and with a Christian View  
 Of all the World to take my last Adieu ;  
 Willing in Heart and Spirit to unite  
 With ev'ry Church in what is just and right,  
 Holy and good, and worthy in its Kind  
 Of God's Acceptance from an honest Mind ; 30  
 Praying, that ev'ry Church may have its Saints  
 And rise to that Perfection which it wants.

Father, *Thy Kingdom come !* Thy Sacred Will  
 May all the Tribes of humam Race fulfil ;  
 Thy Name be prais'd by ev'ry living Breath,  
 Author of Life and Vanquisher of Death !

24. *Their sacred Quire.* The gathering of the Blest. See l. 20, *ante*.

---

## A COMMENT ON THE FOLLOWING SCRIPTURE :

"IN THE BEGINNING WAS THE WORD."

—*St. John*, i. 1.

### I.

"IN the Beginning was the Word," saith JOHN,—  
 "The Life," "the Light," "the Truth," for all are One,—

2, 3. "*The Life*," "*the Light*," "*the Truth*," for all are One,— renderings which suggest themselves to  
*One All-creating Pair.* Goethe's Faust, when translating the  
 opening sentence of the *Gospel of St. John*.  
 The reader will remember the optional

One All-creating Pow'r, All-wise, All-good,  
 In Which at first the whole Creation stood ;  
 Moving and acting in the Pow'r Alone ;—  
 How bright, how perfect and, no Evil known,  
 How blest was Natures universal Plan,  
 And the fair Image of his Maker, MAN !

## II.

The Word, the Pow'r, is *Christ* ; th' Eternal Son  
 Of God, by Whom the Father's Will is done. 10  
 Each is the Other's Glory, and the Love  
 From Both the Bliss of all the blest above.  
 Angels in Heav'n stand ready to obey,  
 And, as the Word directs them, so do they.  
 So must we Men, born here upon this Earth,  
 If ever we regain the Heav'nly Birth ;—

## III.

Lost by poor *Adam* in the fatal Hour  
 Of lusting after Knowledge without Pow'r ;  
 When, yielding to Temptation, tho' forbid  
 To eat what was not good for him, he did. 20  
 The Pow'r of Life consenting to forego,—  
 For what was told him would be Death to know,—  
 He died to his Celestial State, and then  
 Could but convey an earthly one to Men.

23, 24. *He died to his Celestial State*, &c. Part I. p. 9, in *Law's Works*, vol. vii.)  
 "No sooner had he got his Knowledge, 26. *What but the Word, wherein was*  
 by the opening the bestial Life and Sen- *Life*, &c. "What this *new regained Birth*  
 sibility within him, but in that Day, nay is we are plainly told by *St. Peter*" [*1st*  
 in that Instant, *he died* ; that is, his *Epistle*, i. 23], "that is, a being 'born  
 heavenly Spirit with its heavenly Body again of an incorruptible Seed by the  
 were both extinguished in him ; but his Word,' that is, the eternal Word, or Son  
 Soul, an immortal Fire that could not die, of God." (*The Grounds and Reasons of*  
 became a poor Slave in Prison of bestial *Christian Regeneration*, &c., p. 26, in  
 Flesh and Blood." (*The Spirit of Prayer*, *Law's Works*, vol. v.)

IV.

From which to rise, and in true Life to live,  
What but the *Word*, wherein was Life, could give,—  
Engrafted as an holy Seed within,  
And born to save the human Soul from Sin ?  
The *Word* made Man by Virgin-Birth, and free  
From Sin's Dominion, JESUS CHRIST is He ; 30  
Whom, of Pure Love, the Father sent to save,  
And finish Man's Redemption from the Grave.

V.

This Second *Adam*, Healer of the Breach  
Made by the first, nor Sin nor Death could reach.  
He conquer'd both ; and, in the glorious Strife,  
Became the Parent of an endless Life  
To all who ever did, or shall, aspire  
To Life and Spirit from this Heav'nly Sire,  
And cultivate the Seed which He hath sown  
In ev'ry Heart, till the new Man be grown. 40

VI.

The old, we know, must die away to Dust,  
And a new Image rise amongst the just ;  
When at the End of temporary Scene  
*Christ* shall appear, eternally to reign  
In all His Glory, Human and Divine ;  
When all the born of God in Him shall shine,  
Rais'd to the Life that was at first possest,  
And bow the Knee to JESUS, and be blest.

VII.

Since, then, the Cause of our eternal Life  
Is CHRIST in us, what need of any Strife 50



In His Religion,—of “Lo Here! Lo There!”  
 When to all Hearts He is Himself so near,  
 With Pow’r to save us from the Cause of Ill,  
 A worldly, selfish, unbelieving Will;  
 To bless whatever tends to make the Mind  
 Meek, loving, humble, patient, and resign’d?

## VIII.

The Mind to *Christ* so far as God shall draw  
 By Nature, Scripture, Reason, Learning, Law,  
 Or aught beside,—so far their Use is right,  
 Proclaiming Him, and not themselves the Light. 60  
 From first to last His Gospel is the same;  
 And of all Worship that deserves a Name,  
*The Word of Life by Faith to apprehend*  
*That was in the Beginning,—is the End.*

51. “*Lo here! Lo there!*” See note to 62 *seqq.* Of all Worship, &c. The desired antithesis in l. 64 is made possible by a most characteristic inversion.

---

A MEMORIAL ABSTRACT OF A SERMON  
 PREACHED BY THE REV. MR. H——  
 ON *PROVERBS*, Ch. XX. v. 27.

[It is impossible to say who preached the sermon to which these lines refer. Probably, it was taken down in shorthand by Byrom, according to his frequent custom. There is no reason for supposing that the preacher was either of the Messrs. H—— to whom our author offered so much excellent advice on the art of preaching (cf. *ante*, vol. i. pp. 85–9, 101–5). It may have been Mr. Hoole, the rector of St. Ann’s, whose name fits the metrical gap in l. 6.

The text of the sermon runs as follows: “The spirit of man is the

candle of the LORD, searching all the inward parts of the body." The preacher appears to have wound up with a reference to the Parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins, the power of which is illustrated by its treatment in an interesting example of the early liturgical mystery-drama.]

I.

THE human Spirit, when it burns and shines,  
"Lamp of Jehovah" Solomon defines.  
Now, as a Vessel, to contain the Whole,  
This "Lamp" denotes the Body, Oil the Soul  
(As H—— observes) which, tho' itself be dark,  
Is capable of Life's enkindling Spark ;  
But, as consider'd in its own dark Root,  
Still wants the Unction and the Light's Recruit.

II.

Brighter than all that now is look'd upon,  
This "Lamp of God" at its Creation shone ; 10  
The Body, purer than the finest Gold,  
Had no Defect in its material Mould ;  
The Soul's enkindled Oil was heav'nly bright,  
Till evil Mixture darken'd its good Light,  
And hid the supernatural Supply  
That fed the Glorious Lamp of the *Most High*.

III.

That fatal Poison quench'd in human Frame  
The Spirit flowing from the vital Flame.  
*Adam's* free Will consenting to such Food,  
Death in its natural Effect ensued : 20

8. *The Light's Recruit.* A supply of She gives in large recruits of needful  
the light. Cf. Pope's *Essay on Criticism*, pride."  
11. 205-6 : 10. *The "Lamp of God."* The human  
"Whatever nature has in worth denied, spirit in its celestial body.

True Life departing left him naked, blind  
 And spiritless in Body, Soul, and Mind.  
 Dead to his *paradisiac* Life, a Birth  
 From *Sin* began his *mortal* Life on Earth.

## IV.

His Faith, his spiritual Discernment gone,  
 He fell into a poring, reas'ning one ;  
 Into a State of Ignorance he fell,  
 Which brutal Instincts very oft excel.  
 What his *Self-seeking* Will *would* know *was* known,—  
 The Light on this terrestrial Orb alone, 30  
 Dark in Comparison, when this was done,  
 As Moon or Star-light to meridian Sun.

## V.

What Help, when lesser Light should vanish too,  
 And Death discover a still *darker* View,  
 Had not the CHRIST of God, *Sole* Help for Sin,  
 Rais'd up *Salvation* as a *Seed within*,  
 That, sprouting forth by *Penitence* and *Faith*,  
 Could pierce thro' Death and dissipate its Wrath ;  
 Till God's true Image should again revive,  
 And rise, *thro' Him*, to its first Life alive ? 40

## VI.

This *Parent Saviour*, God's Anointed Son,  
 Begets the Life that *Adam* should have done ;

23. *Dead.* He being dead.

28. *Which brutal Instincts very oft excel.* Than which mere animal instinct is often more keen.

29. *What his SELF-SEEKING Will* WOULD know WAS known. A profound

thought, derived from Law. Adam's desire for a knowledge of his lower nature was gratified by the unveiling of a purely subjective mystery, already perfectly clear to an Insight beyond his. After his fall.  
 31. *When this was done.*



Reforms the Lamp, renews the holy Fire,  
And sends to Heav'n its flaming *Love-Desire*.  
'Tis *He*, "the Life that was the Light of Men,"—  
Who fits them to be Lamps of God again ;  
*Restores* the Vessel, Oil, and Light, and all  
The Spirit-Life that vanish'd at the *Fall*.

VII.

Reason has Nothing to proceed upon,  
Without an *Unction* from this *Holy One* ; 50  
Without a Spirit, to dispel the Damp  
Of *Nature's* Darkness, and light up the Lamp :  
Nothing whatever but the *Touch* Divine,  
Can make its highest Faculties to shine,—  
All just as helpless in their selfish Use  
As Lamps their own enkindling to produce.

VIII.

All true Religion teaches them to trim  
The Lamp, that must receive its Light from *Him* ;  
From Him, the *Quick'ning* Spirit, to obtain  
The Life that must for ever Blest remain. 60  
The *Life* of *Christ* arising in the Soul,  
This, this alone makes human Nature whole ;  
Makes ev'ry Gift of Grace to reunite,  
And shine *for ever* in JEHOVAH'S Sight.

45. "*The Life that was the Light of Men.*" "In him was life ; and the life was the light of men." (*St. John*, i. 4.)  
57, 58. *All true Religion teaches them to trim The Lamp, &c.* "And at midnight there was a cry made, Behold, the bridegroom cometh ; go ye out to meet him. Then all those virgins arose, and trimmed their lamps." (*St. Matthew*, xxv. 6-7.)

## ON THE UNION AND THREEFOLD DISTINCTION OF GOD, NATURE AND CREATURE.

[The following is an exposition of Law's cosmogonic theory, as it is developed by him at length in the two *Parts* of his *Spirit of Love*, in the *Way to Divine Knowledge*, where he makes special reference to Jacob Böhme, and elsewhere. He was specially sensitive to the charge of "Spinozism," or (to put it more plainly) Pantheism, brought against him by Warburton (see Overton, *William Law*, pp. 428-9); and in these stanzas Byrom is at special pains to insist upon what Law himself calls "the essential, eternal and absolute distinction between God and nature."

This distinction constitutes one of the fundamental principles of the teaching of Jacob Böhme. In the explanation of technical terms peculiar to Böhme, furnished in an appendix to Hamberger's treatise, *Die Lehre des deutschen Philosophen Jakob Böhme* (Munich, 1844), the following is the commentary on the term "Nature": "This term is applied by Böhme not to the method, quality or form of life, but to its *matrix*, or power of giving birth. Thus *eternal nature* is the material source of essential wisdom, and likewise of creation itself. In so far, then, Nature is the equivalent of chaos, or of the *Mysterium magnum*."]'

### PART FIRST.

#### I.

ALL that comes under our Imagination  
Is either *God*, or *Nature*, or *Creation*.  
God is the Free Eternal Light, or Love,  
*Before, beyond* all Nature, and *above*;  
The One Unchangeable, Unceasing Will  
To ev'ry Good, and to no Sort of Ill.

3 *seqq.* *God is the Free Eternal Light*, brought forth by him is only an *eternal* &c. "God, as consider'd in himself, in *Will to all Goodness*." (*The Spirit of his holy Beginning before anything is Love, Part I.* p. 5, in *Law's Works*, vol. viii.)

II.

Nature *without* Him is th' *abyssal* Dark,  
 Void of the Light's beatifying Spark ;  
 Th' Attraction of Desire, by Want repell'd,  
 Whence circling Rage proceeds, and Wrath unquell'd: 10  
 But by the Light's All-joyous Pow'r th' Abyss  
 Becomes the Groundwork of a *Threefold* Bliss.

III.

Creation is the Gift of Light and Life  
 To Nature's Contrariety and Strife ;  
 For without Nature, or desirous Want,  
 There would be nothing to receive the Grant ;  
 Nor could a Creature or created Scene  
 Exist, did no such *Medium* intervene.

IV.

*Creature* and *God* would be the same ; the Thought  
 Which Books inform us that *Spinoza* taught, 20

7 *seqq.* Nature *WITHOUT* Him is th' *ABYSSAL Dark*, &c. "All Nature, and all that is natural in the Creature, is in itself nothing else but Darkness, whether it be in Soul or Body, in Heaven or on Earth." (*Ib.*, Part II. p. 193.)

9. Th' Attraction of Desire, by Want repell'd. "Nature is a mere Want, and has nothing in it but a *Strength* of Want, generated from the three self-tormenting Properties of Desire." . . . (*Ib.*, p. 72). Elsewhere (*Part I.* p. 26), we read that "the first Property of Nature, which is in itself a *constringing, attracting, compressing* and *coagulating* Power, is that Power from whence comes all Thickness, Darkness, Coldness and Hardness, &c."

Nature without God is conflict, or chaos.

12. *Becomes the Groundwork of a*

THREEFOLD Bliss. "The Shock that is given to the three first Properties of Nature by the amazing Light of the Deity breaking in upon them, is the *Operation* of the Fire, that consumes, or takes away, the wrathful Strength and Contrariety of the Properties, and forces each of them to shrink, as it were, away from itself, and come under the Power of this new-risen Light. Here all Strife of Enmity and wrathful Contrariety in the Properties must cease, because all are united in the *Love of the Light*, and all equally helping one another to a higher Enjoyment and Delight in it. They are all one Triune Will, all doing the same Thing, viz., all rejoicing in the one Love of the Light.

(*Ib.*, Part I. pp. 55-6.)

20. Which Books inform us that SPINOZA

Would then be true, and we be forc'd to call  
 Things good or bad "the *Parts* of the great *All*."  
 In whatsoever State itself may be,  
 Nature is *His*, but Nature is not *He*.

## V.

Like as the Dark behind the shining Glass  
 By hind'ring Rays that of themselves would pass  
 Affords that Glimpse of Objects to the View  
 Which the transparent Mirror could not do, —  
 So does the Life of Nature in its Place  
 Reflect the Glories of the Life of Grace.

30

## VI.

Of ev'ry Creature's Happiness the Growth  
 Depends upon the *Union* of them both,  
 And all that God proceeded to create  
 Came forth at first in this united State.  
 No evil Wrath or Darkness could begin  
 To show itself but by a *Creature's Sin*.

## VII.

And were not *Nature* separate, alone,  
 Such a dark *Wrath*, it could not have been shown ;  
 Its hidden Properties are Ground as good  
 For Life's Support as Bones to Flesh and Blood ;

40

*taught.* It will not escape notice, that Byrom, with praiseworthy conscientiousness, avoids the semblance of a statement at first-hand of Spinoza's theories—Mr. Leslie Stephen (*History of English Thought*, &c., i. 33) thinks it probable that, even of the deists, few read Spinoza's works, his "mimic Toland" (as Warburton is pleased to call him) and one or two others forming the exceptions.

37 *seqq.* And were not *Nature*, &c. "All Evil, be it what it will, all Misery of every Kind, is in its Birth, Working, and Extent, nothing else but *Nature* left to *itself*, and under the divided Workings of its own *Hunger, Wrath, and Contrariety*." (*The Spirit of Love, Part I.* p. 45.)

38. *Such a dark Wrath, it could not.* Such a dark Wrath could not.

*On the Distinction of God, Nature and Creature.* 471

The false, unnatural, ungodly Will  
That lays them open, is sole Cause of Ill.

VIII.

When it is caus'd, *renouncing*, to be sure,  
All such-like Wills contributes to the Cure ;  
That Nature's *wrathful* Forms may not appear,  
Nor what is made subservient domineer ;  
But God's *Good* Will all *evil* ones subdue,  
And bless all *Nature*, and all *Creature* too.

---

PART SECOND.

I.

THIS Universal Blessing to inspire  
Was God's Eternal Purpose or Desire,—  
Desire, which never could be unfulfill'd ;  
*Love* put it forth, and Heav'n was what It will'd ;  
And the Desire had in Itself the Means  
From Whence the Love could raise the Heav'nly Scenes.

II.

Hence, an *Eternal Nature*, to proclaim  
By outward, visible, majestic Frame  
The *Hidden Deity*, the Pow'r Divine,  
By Which th' innumerable Beauties shine, 10  
That by Succession without End recall  
A GOD of LOVE, a Present ALL in ALL.

4. *And Heav'n was what It will'd.* "And so." (*Genesis*, i. 6-7.)  
God said, Let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters, and let it divide the waters from the waters . . . and it was nature.  
7. *Hence, AN ETERNAL NATURE.*  
Hence there arose an eternal system of nature.

(*William Law*, &c., p. 255) in juxta-position with another, where Law describes man's free will as "a spark of the Divine Omnipotence:"

"The very Possibility of his" [Adam's] "having so great a Fall gives great Glory to the Goodness and Love of God towards him. He was created an Angel, and therefore had the highest Perfection of an Angel, which is *Freedom* of Willing . . . Had he not had an angelic Freedom of Will, he could not have had a false Will. . ."

Much of the remaining thought and phraseology of this poem has I think been already incidentally illustrated from Law's writings.]

## I.

E<sup>V</sup>IL, if rightly understood,  
Is but the Skeleton of Good,  
Divested of its Flesh and Blood.

## II.

While it remains without Divorce  
Within its hidden, secret Source,  
It is the Good's own Strength and Force.

## III.

As Bone has the supporting Share  
In human Form Divinely fair,  
Altho' an Evil when laid bare ;

## IV.

As Light and Air are fed by Fire,  
A shining Good, while all conspire,  
But,—separate,—dark, raging Ire ;

10

## V.

As Hope and Love arise from Faith,  
Which then admits no Ill, nor hath ;  
But, if alone, it would be Wrath ;

16. *Or any Instance thought upon.* Or as any other instance which may be thought of will show.

VI.

Or any Instance thought upon,  
In which the Evil can be none,  
Till Unity of Good is gone ;

VII.

So, by Abuse of Thought and Skill  
The greatest Good, to wit, *Free-will*,  
Becomes the *Origin* of Ill. 20

VIII.

Thus, when rebellious Angels fell,  
The very Heav'n where good ones dwell  
Became th' apostate Spirits' Hell.

IX.

Seeking, against Eternal Right,  
A Force without a Love and Light,  
They found and felt its evil Might.

X.

Thus *Adam*, biting at their Bait  
Of Good and Evil when he ate,  
Died to his first thrice-happy State ; 30

XI.

Fell to the Evils of this Ball,  
Which in harmonious Union all  
Were *Paradise* before his Fall ;

XII.

And, when the Life of Christ in Men  
Revives its faded Image, then  
Will all be *Paradise* again.

28. *Their bait.* The bait or temptation set or prepared by the spirits of evil.

---

A FRIENDLY EXPOSTULATION WITH A CLERGY-  
MAN, CONCERNING A PASSAGE IN HIS  
SERMON RELATING TO THE RE-  
DEMPTION OF MANKIND.

[In reading this and the following piece, it should be borne in mind that Byrom's objection to the pious thought uttered, possibly without a full consideration of all its bearings, by his friend in the pulpit, was to himself one of the utmost gravity. Inasmuch as we are without precise information as to the conception of the Atonement put forward by the preacher in question, we cannot decide whether his theory of possible "other means" of salvation was incompatible with this conception, and accordingly in his mouth illogical.

In Law's system, accepted by Byrom, the Atonement is *by the nature of things* the only possible cure for the Fall. In each individual man this process must be individually accomplished, and for each individual it is indispensable, if he is to be saved. I have met with no passage in Law's writings expressing this more distinctly than that cited by Canon Overton from *The Spirit of Love*, Part ii. p. 99 (Law's *Works*, vol. viii.):

"The whole Truth therefore of the Matter is plainly this, Christ given *for us*, is neither more nor less, than Christ given *into us*. And he is in no other Sense our full, perfect, and sufficient Atonement, than as his Nature and Spirit are born, and formed in us, which so purge us from our Sins, that we are thereby in Him, and by Him dwelling in us, become new Creatures, having our Conversation in Heaven.

"As *Adam* is truly our *Defilement* and *Impurity*, by his Birth in us, so Christ is our *Atonement* and *Purification*, by our being born again of Him, and having thereby quickened and revived in us that first divine Life, which was extinguished in *Adam*. And therefore, as *Adam purchased* Death for us, just so in the same Manner, in the same Degree, and in the same Sense, Christ *purchases* Life for us. And each of them solely by their *own inward Life* within us."

Such a view of the Atonement is absolutely irreconcilable with the supposition combated by Byrom. To comment on it from any other point of view would be superfluous.

Of the two ensuing poems the earlier is in my judgment unusually involved and obscure in the construction of several of its sentences; while the second, without adding any fresh point, is generally more forcible in style.]

'TWAS a good Sermon ; but a close Review  
 Would bear one Passage to be alter'd, too ;  
 Because it did not in the least agree  
 With the plain Text (as it appear'd to me),  
 Nor with your Comment on what God had done  
 To save Mankind by His Redeeming Son.

You did, if I remember right, admit  
 That *other* Means, if He had so thought fit,  
 Might have obtain'd the salutary Views  
 As well as those which He was pleas'd to choose ; 10  
 That it was too presumptuous to confine  
 To those alone th' Omnipotence Divine, —  
 As if a Wisdom Infinite could find  
 No other Method how to save Mankind ;  
 Tho' *that*, indeed, which had been fix'd upon,  
 Was in effect become the only one !

Now, this, however well design'd to raise  
 An awful Sense by its respectful Phrase,—  
 An Adoration of the Boundless Pow'rs  
 Of the ALMIGHTY, when compar'd with ours ; 20  
 To sink in humble Rev'rence and profound  
 All human Thoughts of fixing any Bound  
 To an Unerring Wisdom, Which extends  
 Beyond what finite Reason comprehends ;  
 Yet, if examin'd by severer Test,  
 It is at least incautiously express'd,  
 And leaves the subtlest of the Gospel's Foes,  
 The *Deists*, this Objection to propose,—  
 To which they have, and will have, a Recourse,  
 And still keep urging its unanswer'd Force. 30

9. *Might have obtain'd the salutary Views.* Might have brought man in full view of salvation.  
 18. *An awful Sense.* A Sense of awe.  
 20. *To sink.* To make to sink ; to prostrate. (This transitive use of the verb has, probably because of its expletive force, become almost a vulgarism.)

"If there was no Necessity," they say,  
 "For saving Men in this mysterious Way,  
 "What Proof can the Divines pretend to bring—  
 "While they confess the Nature of the Thing  
 "Does not forbid,—that the Celestial Scenes  
 "Will not be open'd by some other Means?  
 "What else but Book-authority at best  
 "Asserts this Way exclusive of the rest,—  
 "Of equal Force, if the Almighty's Will  
 "Had but appointed them to save from Ill ;— 40  
 "This Way, in which the Son of the Most High  
 "Is by His Father's Pleasure doom'd to die  
 "For Satisfaction of Paternal Ire ;  
 "Which when they make Religion to require,  
 "Confounds all Sense of Justice by a Scheme  
 "The most unworthy of the Great Supreme ?  
 "As other Ways might have obtain'd the End,  
 "Nature and Reason force us to attend  
 "To huge Absurdities which follow this,  
 "And, since it was not needful, to dismiss." 50

This is the *Bourdon* of deistic Song,  
 Which rising Volumes labour to prolong.  
 Take this away, the rest would all remain

37. *Book-Authority.* The authority of (refrain) from the French word for a drone-bee, or for the humming sound produced by it. (Low Latin *burdo*, a drone.) Skeat considers the origin of the word to be probably imitative, and compares the Lowland Scotch "*birr*" = English "*buzz*."—The form "*burthen*," so appropriately used by Tennyson (*The Daisy*) in the compound "*ballad-burthen*," may, as is pointed out by Mr. George Milner in an essay cited *ante*, vol. I. p. 266, represent an older pronunciation, such as in other instances is still preserved in the Lancashire dialect.

39. *Of equal force.* Which would be of equal force.

45. *Confounds.* This confounds.

48. *To attend.* To give attention, direct notice.

50. *To dismiss.* To reject it.

51. *The BOURDON.* I have retained Byrom's spelling, which suggests the actual derivation of the English *burden*

As flat and trifling as it is profane ;  
But, this remaining, hither they retreat,  
And lie secure from any full Defeat.

But when the *Need* most *absolute* is shown  
Of Man's Redemption by the Means alone,  
The *Birth*, and *Life*, and *Death*, and *Re-ascent*,  
Thro' which the One *Theandric* Saviour went, 60  
To quench the Wrath of Nature in the Race  
Of Men,— not God, in whom it has no Place :  
Then, Scripture, Sense, and Reason coincide,  
And all conspire to follow the One Guide,—  
Of *Possibilities* to waive the talk  
In which it is impossible to walk,  
And raise the Soul to seek and find the Good  
By this one Method, which no other could.

Then, true Religion, call it by the Name  
"Christian" or "Natural," is still the same,— 70  
From CHRIST deriv'd as Healer of the Soul,  
Or *Nature*, made by His *Re-entrance* whole ;  
Who is in ev'ry Man th' Enlightning Ray,  
The Faith and Hope of *Love's* Redeeming Day,—  
The *Only* Name or Pow'r that can assure  
Nature's Religion, that is, *Nature's Cure*.  
But, if Salvation might have been bestow'd  
By *other* Means than what the Sacred Code  
Declares throughout, the *Deists* will soon say,  
"The Means that *might* be possible, still *may* ; 80  
And, led to think that Scripture is at Odds  
With Nature, take some *other* to be God's.

60. *Theandric*. Cf. p. 26, *ante* (*On the Epiphany*, ll. 65-6.) :

—"The Theandric Plan  
Of our Salvation, God's becoming  
Man."

78. *The Sacred Code*. The Bible. See note to l. 37, *ante*.

82. *Take some OTHER to be God's*.  
Suppose some other means than the Atone-  
ment to be those actually used by God.

Thus may a "no Necessity," allow'd,  
Tend to increase the unbelieving Crowd.

As *Adam* died, and in him all his Race,  
Not to the Life of Nature, but of Grace ;  
There could be no new Birth of it or Growth  
But from a parent Union of them both,—  
Such as in ev'ry possible Respect  
JESUS Incarnate only could effect. 90  
From *Him* alone Who *had* the Life, could Men  
Have it *restor'd, renew'd, reviv'd* again.—

But I am trespassing too much, I fear,  
And preaching, when my Province is to hear.—

Millions of Ways could we suppose beside,  
This, we are sure, which Saving Love has tried,  
Must be the best, must be the straightest Line  
Of Action, when consider'd as Divine :  
This Way *alone* then must as sure be gone,  
As that a Line, if straight, can be but one. 100

95. *Could we suppose.* Even if we certainly be that actually taken.  
could suppose. 100. *As that a Line,* &c. I think this simile  
99. *Must as sure be gone.* Must as is in Law, but I cannot find the passage.

## ON THE SAME SUBJECT;

WRITTEN UPON ANOTHER OCCASION.

### I.

"MANKIND'S Redemption," you are pleas'd to say,  
"By JESUS CHRIST was not the *only* Way  
That could succeed ; indefinitely more  
Th' *Almighty's* Wisdom had within Its Store ;

By any chosen one of which, no doubt,  
The same Redemption had been brought about.

II.

“For who shall dare,” you argue, “in this Case,  
To limit the Omnipotence of Grace ;  
As if a finite Understanding knew  
What the *Almighty* could, or could not, do ;— 10  
Though, since He chose this Method, we must own  
That our Dependence is on This alone ?”

III.

Now, Sir, acknowledging His Pow'r Immense,  
Beyond the Reach of all created Sense,—  
Does it not seem to follow thereupon,  
That *His* True Way must be directly *One* ?  
To save the World He gave His *Only Son* ;  
Therefore, by *Him alone* it could be done.

IV.

Variety of Ways is the Effect  
Of finite View, that sees not *the direct* ; 20  
But the *Almighty*, having all in View,  
Must be supposed to see and take it too,—  
To see at once, tho' *we* are in the dark,  
The one straight Line to the intended Mark.

V.

Saint *Paul's* Assertion of “No other Name  
Giv'n under Heav'n,” appears to be the same

25, 26. *Saint PAUL's Assertion of “No other Name  
Giv'n under Heav'n.”* Peter's. See *Acts*, iv. 12 :  
“There is none other name under heaven  
given among men whereby we must be  
saved.”  
This is not St. Paul's assertion, but St.

With this : "No other Name or Pow'r could save  
But that of JESUS, which JEHOVAH gave."  
More *Sons*, more *Saviours*, as consistent seem  
As more effective *Methods* to redeem.

30

## VI.

"I am the Way," said CHRIST. There could not be,  
By just conclusion, any, then, but He.  
"I am the Truth." Whence it appears anew,  
That no Way else could possibly be *true*.  
"I am the Life ;" to which, as *Adam* died,  
Nothing could bring Mankind again beside.

27 *seqq.* *No other Name*, &c. The reference seems to be to *Philippians*, II. 9 : "Wherefore God also hath highly exalted him, and given him a name which is above every other name." 31 *seqq.* "*I am the Way*," said CHRIST, &c. "Jesus saith unto him," (Thomas), "I am the way, and the truth, and the life ; no man cometh unto the Father, but by me." (*St. John*, xiv. 6.)

THOUGHTS ON IMPUTED RIGHTEOUSNESS,  
OCCASIONED BY READING THE REV. MR.  
HERVEY'S *DIALOGUES BETWEEN*  
*THERON AND ASPASIO*.

## A FRAGMENT.

[James Hervey, the author of the *Meditations and Contemplations*, and of the *Dialogues between Theron and Aspasio*, two of the most popular devotional works of their age, was born February 26th, 1714. According to a biography prefixed to one of the numerous editions of the former of these books, he excelled as a boy "in the usual sports and games of childhood, particularly at marbles, without any of the early vices which usually attend such pre-eminence. In short, young Hervey knew how to win, without setting a value upon his winnings." His career, of which this statement may have been intended to foreshadow the features,

was beyond dispute that of a simple and devoted country clergyman, who remained unspoilt by the literary fame that came to him almost unasked. The same biographical authority avers that "perhaps few writers ever estimated their own powers more justly. 'My friend,' said he to Mr. Ryland, 'I have not powers fitted for arduous researches; but I think I have a power of writing in somewhat of a striking manner, so far as to please mankind, and to recommend my dear REDEEMER.'" This power Hervey single-mindedly exerted to an end which he very clearly placed before himself. "Let us," says Aspasio at the close of the first *Dialogue* (vol. i. p. 40, edn. 1755) "endeavour to make religious Conversation, which is in all Respects *desirable*, in some Degree *fashionable*." The *Meditations*, which appeared in two vols. in 1746-7, are stated to have reached a twenty-fifth edition in 1791; nor can I see anything surprising in this, for while the thoughts which the book contains are altogether commonplace, they are from first to last couched in the very finest language. Moreover, as the titles of the sections of the work will suffice to show, it fell in both with the sentimentality and with the love of the picturesque which were characteristic of the period. Such themes as "Meditations among the Tombs," "Reflexions on a Flower-Garden," "Contemplations on the Starry Heavens," &c., seem nowadays old-fashioned and flat because of the very accidents in which contemporary readers found an almost irresistible charm. (As to Hervey's manner cf. Leslie Stephen, *History of English Thought*, &c., ii. 438-9, where his books are described as a transitional form between the nature-worship of the deists, which was felt to be wanting in fire, and the nature-worship of Wordsworth, which had not yet dawned upon the world; the whole being rendered palatable to the ordinary reader by the admixture of Evangelical theology).

After in 1752 issuing *Remarks on Lord Bolingbroke's Letters on the Use and Study of History*, a prompt retort upon a posthumous publication of the Arch-sceptic, the author of the *Meditations* published in 1755 the most substantial of his books, the *Dialogues between Theron and Aspasio* (3 vols.). It was dedicated to Lady Fanny Shirley, a relative of the well-known Countess of Huntingdon, at whom Horace Walpole sneered as "Saint Fanny," but of whom Henry Venn, having been asked by her physician to account for the serenity with which she bore a painful illness, beautifully said: "That lady happily possesses what you and I ought daily

to pray for—the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost.” (*Life and Times of Selina, Countess of Huntingdon*, 1839, ii. 58.) The style of these Dialogues, which in the course of vol. ii. are exchanged for a series of letters, resembles that of the *Meditations*; nor, though notwithstanding its didactic tone the diction of the later work may be slightly less inflated than that of the earlier, can there be said to be strength in the fluency of *Aspasio*, or life in the “humourous gaiety” (to use his own expression) of *Theron*. It, however, speedily becomes obvious, and is indeed openly avowed in the Preface, that these Dialogues and Letters have a special as well as a general purpose.

“The Beauty and Excellency of the *Scriptures*—the Ruin and *Depravity* of human Nature—its happy *Recovery*, founded on the Atonement, and effected by the SPIRIT of CHRIST—these are *some* of the chief Points vindicated, illustrated and applied in the following Sheets.—But the *grand* Article, that which makes the principal Figure, is the IMPUTED RIGHTEOUSNESS of our divine LORD; from whence arises our Justification before GOD, and our renewed Title to every heavenly Blessing. An Article, which, though eminent for its Importance, seems to be little understood, and less regarded; if not much mistaken, and almost forgotten.”

Nothing, it must be said, can be more straight forward than the distinctness with which in this book Hervey insists again and again upon the doctrine on which he pins his faith.

“By CHRIST’s *Righteousness* I understand *all* the various Instances of his *active* and *passive* Obedience; springing from the perfect Holiness of his Heart, continued through the whole Progress of his Life, and extending to the very last Pang of his Death.—By the Word *imputed* I would signify, That this Righteousness, though performed by our LORD, is *placed to our Account*, is reckoned or adjudged by GOD as *our own*. Inasmuch, that We may *plead* it, and *rely* on it, for the Pardon of our Sins, for adoption into his Family, and for the Enjoyment of Life eternal.”

The Calvinistic doctrine of Imputed Righteousness upheld by Hervey, and developed and illustrated by him at extraordinary length in his book, was strongly opposed by John Wesley in his *Remarks upon Theron and Aspasio*, and by other writers. Hervey replied in *Eleven Letters*, which were ready for the press when he died, on December 25th, 1752, at his Northamptonshire living of Weston Favell. These were published after his death by his brother; the treatise on *Gospel Holiness*, by which he intended to supplement *Theron and Aspasio*, was never written.

Among those whose dogmatic teaching differed *toto celo* from Hervey’s was his “rather distant neighbour,” William Law, the popularity

of whose devotional Works, the *Serious Call* in particular, had suffered considerably from the popular favour extended to writings in far closer accordance with the prevalent taste. Law disliked the style of Hervey's writings, and accorded to his treatment of religious subjects even less favour than it found with Byrom (see *A Contrast between two Eminent Divines, infra*). The difference between the mystic and the popular divine was in truth a deep-seated one. In *Dialogue II.* of Hervey's book, Theron very pointedly refers to "other of your zealous folks" who, he says :—

"Are all for the *sanctifying* Influence of the SPIRIT, and reckon this Affiance on the SAVIOUR'S Merits among the beggarly Elements of Religion. They scarce ever mention, what CHRIST has done *for Us*; but insist wholly upon what He does *in Us*." (Vol. I. p. 67.)

And in *Dialogue VII.*, "Ouranium"—*i.e.* Law—is respectfully but broadly opposed on the subject of his teaching, "that we are justified not by the Merits of Christ imputed to Us, but by Christ himself formed in our Hearts. His notion, that man is justified by works, so long as these works are of a kind wrought by the operation of CHRIST on the soul, is set down as '*Legalism* in its greatest Subtlety, or highest Refinement.'" (*Ib.*, p. 338; cf. Overton, *William Law*, 391 *seqq.* Law's views on the subject of Justification will be found laid down with perfect distinctness in his essay *Of Justification by Faith and Works—A Dialogue between a Methodist and a Churchman*; printed in vol. ix. of his *Collected Works*.)

This dispute of course merely forms part of the controversy which at the time filled the theological world (see the section "The Calvinistic Controversy" in Canon Overton's chapter "The Evangelical Revival" in Overton and Abbey's *English Church in the Eighteenth Century*, edn. 1887, pp. 355 *seqq.*), and to the importance of which other of Byrom's verses testify. An echo of the conflict will be found in the correspondence, in *Remains*, ii. 560-4, between another of Law's devoted followers, John Spanaule, and Hervey. The latter, though to the not very courteous invitation to "read his neighbour's writings," preserves his temper, and may therefore be excused for adhering to his opinions. "I am so far from admiring 'my neighbour's writings' (Mr. Law's, I suppose you mean) that I think it my duty to disclaim his notions. I think Dr. Owen among the writers of the last century, and Mr. Erskine

among the writers of the present century, have abundantly more of the truth, simplicity and purity of the Gospel than Mr. Law." He concludes, however, "Though I do not solicit you further correspondence, I covet a remembrance in your prayers."

It is impossible to identify the "beloved friend" (l. 1) to whom the following lines are addressed, and whose "friends" in their turn were supposed to have converted Aspasio-Hervey to Calvinistic views (ll. 21-2).]

"IMPUTED Righteousness!"—Belovèd Friend,  
To what Advantage can this Doctrine tend,  
If, at the same Time, a Believer's Breast  
Be not by *real* Righteousness possest;  
And if it be, why Volumes on it made  
With such a Stress upon "imputed" laid?

Amongst the Disputants of later Days,  
This, in its Turn, became a fav'rite Phrase;  
When, much divided in religious Schemes,  
Contending Parties ran into Extremes. 10  
And now it claims th' Attention of the Age,  
In *Hervey's* elegant and lively Page;  
This his *Aspasio* labours to impress,  
With ev'ry Turn of Language and Address;  
With all the Flow of Eloquence that shines  
Thro' all his (full enough) embellish'd Lines.

Tho' now so much exerting to confirm  
Its vast Importance, and revive the Term,  
He was himself, he lets his *Theron* know,  
Of diff'rent Sentiments not long ago; 20

7, 8. *Amongst the Disputants of later Days.* The Calvinistic controversy had more or less lain in abeyance for six years or thereabouts after the dispute between John Wesley and Whitefield, till the publication of *Theron and Aspasio*. (OVERTON, *u. s.*, p. 358.)

19, 20. *He was himself, he lets his Theron know, Of diff'rent sentiment not long ago.*  
See *Dialogue II. (Theron and Aspasio, i. 53-4)*: "Upon Condition that you will dismiss your Flourishes of Wit and Strokes of Satire, I will acquaint you with the

And Friends of yours, it has been thought, I find,  
 Have brought *Aspasio* to his present Mind.  
 Now, having read (but unconvinc'd, I own,)  
 What various Reason for it he has shown,  
 Or rather Rhetoric,—if it be true  
 In any Sense that has appear'd to you,  
 I rest secure of giving no Offence,  
 By asking how you understand the Sense ;  
 By urging in a Manner frank and free  
 What Reasons, as I read, occur to me, 30  
 Why “Righteousness” for Man to rest upon  
 Must be a “real,” not “imputed,” one.

To shun much novel Sentiment and nice,  
 I take the Thing from its apparent Rise.  
 It should seem, then, as if “imputed Sin”  
 Had made “imputed Righteousness” begin ;  
 The one suppos'd, the other, to be sure,  
 Would follow after— like Disease and Cure.  
 Let us examine, then, “imputed Guilt,”  
 And see on what Foundation it is built. 40

As our first Parents lost an heav'nly State,  
 All their Descendents share their hapless Fate,

Reasons which have made me a thorough  
 Convert to this Doctrine.—Once, I held  
 it in the utmost Contempt, and pitied the  
 Simplicity of (as I then styled them) its  
*deluded Admirers*. But I am now become  
*such a Fool*, that I may be *truly* wise and  
*substantially* happy. I have seen my  
*ruined State* ; and I bless GOD for this  
 sovereign *Restoration*. It is the Source  
 of my strongest Consolations, and the  
 very Foundation of my eternal Hopes.”

21. *And Friends of yours*. See *Intro-*  
*ductory Note*.

33. *Nice*. Refining.

35. *It would seem, then, as if “im-*  
*puted Sin”*

*Had made “imputed Righteousness”*  
*begin.*

See the argument in *Dialogue II*. (*Theron*  
*and Aspasio*, i. 60-1) : “He places Him-  
 self in our stead. The Punishment which  
*We* deserved, *He* endures. The Obedience  
 which *We* owed, *He* fulfils. Both which,  
 being imputed to *Us*, and accepted for *Us*,  
 are the Foundation of our Pardon, are the  
 procuring Cause of our Justification.”

Forewarn'd of God, when tempted, not to eat  
 Of the forbidden Tree's pernicious Meat ;  
 Because incorporating mortal Leav'n  
 Would kill of course in them the Life of Heav'n.  
 They disobey'd, did *Adam* and his Wife,  
 And died of Course to their true heav'nly Life.  
 That Life thus lost, the Day they disobey'd,  
 Could not by them be possibly convey'd. 50  
 No other Life could Children have from them  
 But what could rise from the parental Stem,—  
 That Love of God alone Which we adore  
 The Life so lost could possibly restore ;  
 Their Children could not, being born to Earth,  
 Be born to Heaven but by an *Heav'nly Birth*.  
 God found a Way, explain it how we will,  
 To save the human Race from endless Ill ;  
 To save the very disobeying Pair ;  
 And made their whole Posterity His Care. 60

Has this great Goodness any thing akin  
 To God's "imputing" our first Parents' Sin  
 To their unborn Posterity?—What Sense  
 In such a strange and scriptureless Pretence ?  
 For the Men feel—so far we are agreed—  
 The Consequences of a sinful Deed ;  
 Yet where ascrib'd by any sacred Pen  
 But to the *Doers* is the *Deed* to Men ;  
 Where to be found in all the Scripture thro'  
 This "Imputation," thus advanc'd anew ? 70

*Adam* and *Eve*, by *Satan's* Wiles decoy'd,  
*Did* what the kind Commandment said "avoid."  
 To them with Justice, therefore, you impute  
 The Sin of eating the forbidden Fruit ;  
 And ev'ry Imputation must in Fact,  
 If just, be built on some preceding Act ;

Without the previous Deed suppos'd the Word  
Becomes unjust, unnatural, absurd.

If, as you seem'd to think the other Day,  
All *Adam's* Race in some mysterious Way 80  
Sinn'd when he sinn'd, consented to his Fall,—  
With Justice then impute it to them all !  
But still it follows, that they all contract  
An Imputation founded upon Fact ;  
And " Righteousness of Christ " in Christian Heirs  
Must be as deeply and as truly theirs,  
An Heav'nly Life in order to replace  
As was the Sin that made a guilty Race ;  
So that " imputing " either Good or Ill  
Must presuppose a correspondent Will ; 90  
Or else " Imputers " certainly must make  
Thro' Ignorance or other Cause Mistake.

Old *Eli* thus, not knowing what to think,  
" Imputed " *Hannah's* silent Pray'r to Drink ;  
Little supposing that it would prepare  
A Successor to him, her silent Pray'r.  
There may be other Meanings of the Phrase,  
To be accounted for in human Ways ;  
But *God's* " imputing " to the future Child  
The Sin by which his Parents were beguil'd, 100  
Seems to establish an unrighteous Blame  
That brings no Honour to its Maker's Name.

77, &c. *Without the previous Deed suppos'd, &c.* So Theron, before his conversion, maintains that he " can see neither *Wisdom* nor *Equity* in ascribing to a Person what he *has* not, or imputing to *Him* what he *does* not " (*u.s.*, p. 64).

85. *Christian Heirs.* The inheritors of Christ's promises.

87, 88. The order of these lines seems inverted from that of their natural sequence according to sense.

93. *Old ELI.* See *1st Samuel*, i. 13 : " Now Hannah, she spake in her heart ; only her lips moved, but her voice was not heard ; therefore Eli thought she had been drunken."

God's Honour, Glory, Majesty and Grace,  
 I grant, is your Intention in the Case ;  
 But wish revolv'd in your impartial Thought,  
 How far the Doctrine tends, when it is taught,  
 To such an honest Purpose, and how far  
 Justice and Truth may seem to be at War,  
 If God "impute" to guiltless Children Crimes,  
 Committed only in their Parents' Times.

110

Pious *Aspasio*, I imagine, too,  
 Had God's "resistless Sov'reignty" in View ;  
 The Charge of *Puritan* or other Name  
 He scorn'd aright and, making Truth his Aim,  
 Found it, he thought, in eminent Divines,  
 Of whose Opinion these are the Outlines.—  
 They think, at least they seem to represent,  
 That God in Honour upon Sin's Event  
 Could not forgive the Sinners that had stray'd  
 Without a proper *Satisfaction* made  
 To His *Offended* Justice, and, because  
 Upon their Breach of the Almighty's Laws  
 None else was adequate to what was done,  
 The *Vengeance* fell on His *Belovèd Son*,  
 Who gave Himself to suffer in *our Stead*,  
 And thus to Life again restor'd the dead ;  
 Because consistently with Justice then  
 God could bestow His Mercy upon Men.

120

109. If God "impute" to guiltless Children Crimes. Colour is lent to the supposition by a *literal* interpretation of *Exodus*, xx. 5 : "I the Lord thy God am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me." (u.s., p. 51) "that such a *Puritanical Nostrum* makes a very unbecoming Figure amongst your other manly and correct Sentiments of Religion." And there are further sallies of the same kind.

112. The charge of PURITAN. "I must say," exclaims Theron early in *Dialogue II*. 118. In Honour. In order to be true to His Words. *Ib. Upon Sin's Event*. When sin had been committed.

Man had contracted in that fatal Day  
Debt so immense, that Man could never pay ; 130  
He Who was *God* as well as *Man*, He could,  
And made the Satisfaction thro' His Blood,—  
Paid all the just Demand, "imputed" thus  
*Our Sin* to Him, *His Righteousness* to us.—  
This sets the Doctrine, if I take aright  
Their Words and Meaning, in the plainest Light.

Now, since accounting for the Truth amiss  
May give Distaste in such an Age as this,  
And be a stumbling-block to them who might  
Receive an Explanation that was right,— 140  
Not as a captious Foe, but hearty Friend,  
May one entreat such Teachers to attend,  
And reconcile their System, if they can,  
To God's Proceeding with His Creature Man,—  
To that Paternal, Tender Love and Grace  
Which at Man's Fall immediately took Place,—  
That Inward, Holy Thing, inbreathèd then,  
Which would re-kindle Heav'n in him again ?  
Does "Wrath," or "Vengeance," or a "Want" appear  
"Of Satisfaction" or "of Payment" here 150  
In Man's Creator? For Mankind had He  
*A purchas'd* Grace, which contradicts a *Free* ?  
Is it not plain, that an *Unalter'd Love*  
Sent Help to poor fall'n Creatures from Above,  
Unbargain'd, Unsolicited, Unmov'd  
But by Itself, as Its Exertion prov'd ;—  
No foreign Promise, no "imputed" Ease,  
But Remedy as Real as Disease,  
That would, according to true Nature's Ground,  
Bring on the Cure, and make the Patient sound ? 160

131. *He could.* Could pay the debt. 146. *Took Place.* Cf. note, *ante*, p. 70.

That *Christ*, that *God's becoming Man*, was it,  
 Your Friends with highest Gratitude admit ;  
 Whose utmost Talents are employ'd to show  
 The Obligations that to Him we owe,—  
 To press the Object of our Faith and Trust,  
 CHRIST ALL IN ALL, the Righteous and the Just,  
 The "True Redeeming Life,"—essential this  
 To ev'ry Christian who aspires to Bliss !  
 Why not subjoin—I cite the Hero *Paul*,  
 And make Appeal to Christians—"in you all,"— 170  
*Form'd in you, dwelling in you*, and within  
 Regenerating Life, dethroning Sin ;  
 Working in more and more resignèd Wills  
 The gradual Conquest of all selfish Ills ;  
 Till the true Christian to true Life revive,  
 "Dead to the World, to God, thro' Him, alive ?"

What num'rous Texts from *Paul*, from ev'ry Saint,  
 Might furnish our Citations, did we want,  
 And could not see that Righteousness or Sin  
 Arise not from *without*, but from *within* ; 180  
 That "Imputation," where they are not found,  
 Can reach no further than an empty Sound,—  
 No further than "imputed" Health can reach  
 The Cure of Sickness, tho' a Man should preach  
 With all the Eloquence of Zeal and tell  
 How Health "imputed" makes a sick Man well !  
 Indeed, if Sickness be "imputed" too,  
 "Imputed Remedy," no Doubt, may do ;  
 Words may pour forth their entertaining Store,  
 But Things are—just as Things were just before. 190

166. CHRIST ALL IN ALL. (*Colossians*,  
 iii. 11.) "Christ is all, and in all."

169. *I cite the Hero PAUL*. The refer-  
 ence seems to be to the passage cited in the  
 previous note.

176. "Dead to the World, &c." "Like-  
 wise reckon ye also yourselves to be dead  
 indeed unto sin, but alive unto God  
 through Jesus Christ our Lord." (*Ro-*  
*mans*, vi. 11.)

In so important a Concern as that  
Which good *Aspasio's* Care is pointed at,  
A small Mistake which at the Bottom lies  
May sap the Building that shall thence arise.  
Who would not wish that Architect so skill'd  
On great Mistake might not persist to build,  
But strictly search and for sufficient While,  
If the Foundation could support the Pile ?

This "Imputation," which he builds upon,  
Has been the Source of more Mistakes than one. 200  
Hence rose, to pass the intermediate Train  
Of growing Errors and observe the main,  
That worse than *pagan* Principle of Fate,  
*Predestination's* partial Love and Hate ;  
By which, not tied like fancied *Jove* to look  
In stronger Destiny's decreeing Book,  
The *God* of *Christians* is suppos'd to will  
That *some* should come to *Good*, and *some* to *Ill*,—  
And for no Reason but to show, in fine,  
Th' Extent of *Goodness* and of *Wrath Divine*. 210

Whose Doctrine this ? I quote no less a Man  
Than the renown'd *Calvin* for the Plan ;

205. *Like fancied JOVE*. Like the Jove of mythology. Cf. the much-vexed passages in the *Iliad*, Bks. viii. and xxii., where Zeus appeals to the scales of Destiny before arriving at his own decision.

211. *The renown'd CALVIN*. See the following passage, cited from the *Institutio* (edn. 1559) by Stähelin, *Johannes Calvin* (Elberfeld, 1863), ii. 273 : "Predestination we call the eternal decree of God, whereby He has determined of Himself, what he will allow each man to become. For not all are created under the same condition ; but for some is ordained everlasting life, and for others everlasting dam-

nation. Every man is predestined either to be saved or to be lost, by an eternal, immutable decree ; the former by God's unmerited compassion, the latter by His just, though incomprehensible judgment.

Herein God is by no means guided by the previous conduct of men, but proceeds altogether as a free agent, as is pointed out by Paul." In a note Stähelin refers, though not with complete approval, to the attempt of Schweizer, *Centraldogmen*, i. 156, to expound the successive stages in the developement of this doctrine, as supposed to result from a comparison of the several editions of the *Institutio*.

Who having labour'd with Distinctions vain  
 "Mere Imputation" only to maintain,  
 Maintains, when speaking on another Head,  
 This horrid Thought, to which the former led :  
 "Predestination here I call," says he,  
 Defining, "God's Eternal, Fix'd Decree,  
 "Which having settl'd in His Will He pass'd,—  
 "What ev'ry Man should come to at the last." 220  
 And lest the Terms should be conceiv'd to bear  
 A Meaning less than he propos'd severe :  
 "For all Mankind," he adds to Definition,  
 "Are not created on the same Condition ;"—  
 ("*Pari Conditione*" is the Phrase,  
 If you can turn it any other Ways ;)—  
 "But Life to some eternal is restrain'd,  
 "To some Damnation endless pre-ordain'd."

*Calvin* has push'd the Principle, I guess,  
 To what your Friends would own to be Excess ; 230  
 And probably *Aspasio*, less inclin'd  
 To run directly into *Calvin's* Mind,  
 Would give "imputing" a more mod'rate Sense,  
 That no "Damnation" might arise from thence ;  
 But how will mollifying Terms confute  
 The fam'd Reformer's Notion of "impute" ?  
 If it confer such *arbitrary* Good,  
 The dire Reverse is quickly understood,—  
 So understood, that open Eyes may see  
 'Tis *Calvin's* Fiction, and not *God's* Decree,— 240  
 Not His Whose Forming Love and Ruling Aid  
 Ceaseless extends to all that He hath made ;  
 Who gave the Gift which He was pleas'd to give,  
 That "*none* might perish, but that *all* might live,"—

227. *Life to some eternal is restrain'd.* that ALL might live." Cf. 2nd St. Peter, iii. 9 : "[The Lord] is long-suffering to us-ward, not willing that any should perish."

244. That "NONE might perish, but but that all should come to repentance."

*A Contrast Between Two Eminent Divines.* 495

His *Only Son*, in Whom the Light That guides  
The born into the World to Life, resides,—  
A real Life, that by a real Birth  
Raises a Life beyond the Life of Earth  
In all His Children.—But no more to you,  
Better than me who know it to be true. 250  
And, if *Aspasio's* really humbl'd Soul  
Be by a touch of Garment-Hem made whole,  
He might, as I should apprehend, be sure  
That "Imputation" could not cause the Cure.  
When the poor Woman, in the Gospel, found  
"Touch of the Saviour's Clothes" to make her sound,  
We know the Virtue did from Him proceed  
That mix'd with Faith restor'd her, as we read.  
"Gone out of Him" obliges to infer,  
That 'twas by Faith *attracted into* her. 260

249. *Better than me.* Ungrammatically  
for "better than I."

255. *The poor Woman in the Gospel.*  
See *St. Mark*, v. 25-34.

---

A CONTRAST BETWEEN TWO EMINENT  
DIVINES.

[I have subjoined this epigram to Byrom's fragment on *Theron and Aspasio*. In the *Introductory Note* to that piece I have sufficiently dwelt upon the relations between Law and Hervey.]

TWO diff'rent Painters, Artists in their Way,  
Have drawn Religion in her full Display ;  
To both she sat.—One gaz'd at her all o'er ;  
The other fix'd upon her Features more :  
*Hervey* has figur'd her with ev'ry Grace  
That Dress could give ;—but *Law* has hit her Face.

---

ON THE NATURE OF FREE GRACE, AND THE  
CLAIM TO MERIT FOR THE PER-  
FORMANCE OF GOOD WORKS.

## I.

GRACE, to be sure, is in the last Degree  
The *Gift* of God, Divinely pure and free ;  
Not bought or paid for, merited or claim'd,  
By any Works of ours that can be nam'd.

## II.

What Claim or Merit, or withal to pay,  
Could Creatures have before creating Day ?  
Gift of Existence is the Gracious one  
Which all the rest must needs depend upon.

## III.

All "boasting" then of Merit, all Pretence  
Of Claim from God, in a deserving Sense,  
Is in one Word "excluded" by *St. Paul* :  
"Whate'er thou hast, thou hast receiv'd it all."

10

## IV.

But, sure, the *Use* of any Gracious Pow'rs  
Freely bestow'd may properly be ours ;  
Right Application being ours to choose,  
Or, if we will be so absurd, refuse !

5. *Withal*. Wherewith.

6. *Before creating Day*. Before the date of their creation.

7. *The Gracious one*. The one gift of Grace.

10. *In a deserving Sense*. In the sense of putting forward any desert on the part of man.

11. *By ST. PAUL*. See *1st Corinthians*,

iv. 7 : "For who maketh thee to differ from another ? and what hast thou that thou didst not receive ? Now if thou didst receive it, why dost thou glory, as if thou hadst not received it ?" And cf. *Romans*, iii. 27 : "Where is boasting then ? It is excluded. By what law ? of works ? Nay : but by the law of faith."

V.

In this Respect what need to controvert  
The sober Sense of *Merit* or *Desert* ?  
“Works,” it is said, “will have,”—and is it hard  
To say “deserve,” or “merit”—“their Reward.” 20

VI.

Grace is the real saving Gift ; but then  
Good Works are profitable unto Men.  
God wants them not ; but, if our Neighbours do,  
Flowing from Grace, they prove it to be true.

VII.

When human Words ascribe to human Spirit  
“Worthy,” “Unworthy,” “Merit” or “Demerit,”  
Why should Disputes forbid the Terms a place,  
Which are not meant to derogate from Grace ?

VIII.

All comes from God Who gave us first to live  
And all succeeding Grace ; 'tis ours to “give 30  
To *God Alone the Glory*,” and to *Man*,  
Empow’r’d by Him, to do what *Good* we can.

19. *It is said.* See *Romans*, iv. 4 : 30, 31. “give  
“Now to him that worketh is the reward To GOD ALONE the *Glory*.”  
not reckoned of grace, but of debt.” Cf. See *St. John*, ix. 24 : “Then again called  
and *Chronicles*, xv. 7 : “Your work shall they the man that was blind, and said unto  
be rewarded.” him, give God the Parise : we know that  
29. *Who gave us first to live.* Who be- this man is a sinner.”  
stowed upon us as the first gift of this 31. And to MAN. To reserve for our  
grace our existence. See l. 7, *ante*. human selves the endeavour.

A SOLILOQUY ON READING A DISPUTE  
ABOUT FAITH AND WORKS.

## I.

WHAT an excessive Fondness for Debate  
Does this dividing *Faith* from *Works* create !  
Some say, " Salvation is by *Faith alone*,  
Or else the Gospel will be overthrown ;"  
Others for that same Reason place the Whole  
In *Works*, which bring Salvation to a Soul.

## II.

Gospel of *Christ*, consistently applied,  
Unites together what they both divide ;  
It is itself indeed the very Faith  
That works by Love and saves a Soul from Wrath. 10  
A new Dispute should some third Party pave,  
Nor Faith, nor Works, but *Love* alone would save.

## III.

The *Solifidian* takes a Text from *Paul*,  
And " Works are good for Nothing. Faith is all ;"—  
Doctrine which his Antagonist disclaims,  
And shows how Works must justify, from *James*.  
A Third in either soon might find a Place,  
Where Love is plainly the Exalted Grace.

## IV.

There is no End of jarring System found  
In thus contending not for Sense, but Sound,— 20

13. *The Solifidian*. He who regards in St. James.  
Faith as the only means of Salvation. 18. *The Exalted Grace*. The Grace  
17. *In either*. In either St. Paul or extolled above all others.

For Sound, by which th' *Inseparable* Three  
Are so distinguish'd as to disagree ;  
Altho' Salvation in its real Spring,—  
*Faith, Work, or Love*,—be one and the same Thing ;—

V.

One Pow'r of *God*, or Life of *Christ* within,  
Or *Holy Spirit* washing away Sin,—  
Not by Repentance *only*, or Belief  
*Only* that slights a penitential Grief  
And its meet Fruits, and justifies alone  
A full conceiv'd Assurance of its own ;— 30

VI.

Nor by Works *only* ;—nor, tho' *Paul* above  
Both Faith and Works have lifted it, can Love  
Have, or desire to have, th' exclusive Claim  
In Men's Salvation to this *only* Fame.  
By *All* together Souls are sav'd from Ill,  
Whene'er they yield an unresisting Will.

VII.

God has a Never-ceasing Will to save,  
And Men by Grace may savingly behave.  
This would produce less Fondness for a Sect,  
And more Concern about the main Effect ; 40  
Then, Faith *alone* might save them from the Fall,  
As one good Word in Use that stood for all.

31, 32. *Tho' PAUL above*  
*Both Faith and Works have lifted it.*  
See *1st Corinthians*, xiii. 2 and 3 : "And  
though I have all faith . . . and though  
I bestow all my goods to feed the poor . . .  
and have not charity, it profiteth me  
nothing."

34. *In Men's Salvation to this ONLY*  
*Fame.* To a credit shared by no other gift  
of Grace in working the salvation of men.

38. *May savingly behave.* May act in  
a way conducing to their salvation.

42. *In Use that stood.* Conventionally  
employed.

I cite the Man for Doctrine so accurst  
 In Book the *third*, and Chapter *twenty-first*,  
 Section the *fifth*,— an horrid, impious Lore  
 That one would hope was never taught before.  
 How it came after to prevail away,  
 Let them who mince the “damning” Matter, say, 30  
 And others judge, if any *Christian* Fruit  
 Be like to spring from such a *pagan* Root.

“*Pagan*,” said I? I must retract the Word ;  
 For the poor Pagans were not so absurd.  
 Their *Jupiter*, of Gods and Men the King,  
 Whenever he ordain’d an hurtful Thing,  
 Did it, because he was oblig’d to look  
 And act, as *Fate* had bid him in a Book.  
 For Gods and Goddesses were subject then  
 To dire *Necessity* as well as Men,— 40  
 Compell’d to crush an Hero or a Town,  
 As *Destiny* had set the Matter down.

But in your Scheme ’tis *God* that orders Ill  
 With Sov’reign Pow’r and with Resistless Will ;  
 He, in Whose Blessèd Name is understood  
 The One Eternal Will to ev’ry Good,  
 Is represented, tho’ untied by *Fate*,  
 With a Decree of damning to create  
 Such as you term “the Vessels of his Wrath,”  
 To “show his Pow’r,” according to your Faith. 50  
 Just as if God, like some tyrannic Man,  
 Would plague the World, to show them that He can ;

26. *Book the THIRD*, &c. *Book III.* of the *Institution of the Christian Religion* treats (I cite Thomas Norton’s English Translation, 1574) *Of the manner how to receive the Grace of Christ*, and *sec. 5* opens thus: “Predestination, whereby God adopteth some into the hope of life, and judgeth some to eternal death, no man that would be accompted godly, dare

simply deny.” “All,” we subsequently read, “are not created to like estate ; but to some eternal life, and to some eternal damnation, is fore-appointed.”

29. *To prevail away*. Colloquially, as we say to “talk away,” “boast away.”

35 *seqq.* Their *JUPITER*. Cf. note to p. 493, *ante*.

While others, (they, for Instance, of your Sect)  
Are "Mercy's Vessels," precious and elect,  
Who think, God help them! to secure their Bliss  
By such a partial, fond Conceit as this!

Talk not to me of *Popery* and *Rome*,  
Nor yet foretel its *Babylonish* Doom ;  
Nor canonise *reforming* Saints of old,  
Because *they* held the Doctrine that *you* hold ! 60  
For if they did, altho' of *Saint-like* Stem,  
In this plain Point we must *reform* from them.  
While freed from *Rome*, we are not tied, I hope,  
To what is wrong in a *Geneva* Pope ;  
Nor what is right should Sirname supersede  
Of *Luther*, *Calvin*, *Bellarmino*, or *Bede*.  
*Rome* has been guilty of Excess, 'tis true,—  
And so have some of the *Reformers* too.  
If in their Zeal against the *Roman* Seat,  
Plucking up Tares, they pluck'd up also Wheat, 70  
Must we to Children, for what they have said  
Give this *Predestination*-Stone for Bread ?

Sir, it is worse, is your Predestination,  
Ten thousand Times than Transubstantiation.  
Hard is the Point that Papists have compil'd  
With Sense and Reason to be reconcil'd ;  
But yet it leaves to our Conception still  
Goodness in God and Holiness of Will,—  
A Just, Impartial Government of all,  
A Saving Love, a Correspondent Call 80  
To ev'ry Man and, in the fittest Hour

65. *Sirname*. (I retain the old, but may dare to suggest it) for the sake of the probably incorrect, spelling.) Here in rhyme. "Beza" would have been more the sense of "the personal name," or in to the point.  
other words, "the mere personal authority." 69. *Srat*. See.

66. *BEDF*. I do not know why this name should be brought in, unless (if I 71. *For what*. Because of what.  
70. *Correspondent*. Personally appropriate.

For him to hear, all offer'd Grace and Power ;  
Which he may want, and have, if he will crave  
From Him Who willeth Nothing but to save.

Whereas, this *Reprobation* Doctrine here  
Not only Sense and Reason would cashier,  
But take by its Pretext of sov'reign Sway  
All Goodness from the Deity away ;  
Both Heav'n and Hell confounding with its Cant,  
Virtue and Vice, the Sinner and the Saint ; 90  
Leaving by irresistible Decree  
And Purpose absolute, what Man shall be,  
Nothing in Sinners to detest so much,  
As God's Contrivance how to make them such !

That ever *Christians*, blest with Revelation,  
Should think of His *decreeing* Men's Damnation,—  
The GOD of LOVE, the FOUNTAIN of ALL GOOD ;  
“Who made,” says Paul, “all Nations of one Blood  
To dwell on Earth, appointing Time, and Place ;”—  
And for what End this *Pre-ordaining* Grace ? 100  
That they might *seek*, and *feel* after, and *find*  
The Life in God which God for Man design'd.

“We are His Offspring ;”—for in that Decree,  
The *pagan* Poet and *St. Paul* agree ;—

82. *For him to hear, all offer'd.* The construction is rather awkward. “Grace and Power offered to all men in the fittest hour for every man to hear.”

83. *Want, and have.* Forego or have.

93. *Purpose absolute what Man shall be.* Absolute determination as to the future awaiting each man.

97. *Says Paul.* See *Acts*, xvii. 26 : “And hath made of one blood all nations of men, for to dwell on all the face of the earth ; and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their hesitation.”

104. *The PAGAN Poet and ST. PAUL.*

See *ib.*, 28 : “For in him we live, and move, and have our being ; as certain also of your poets have said, For we are also his offspring.” The poet was Aratus, who according to some was a native of Tarsus, and who spent part of his earlier life at Athens. They occur in his poetical essay on astronomy called *Phænomena*. An almost identical sentence is to be found in the hymn to Zeus of the stoic Cleanthes. See Neander, *History of the Planting of the Christian Church* (E. Tr., 1851, 193, note. Cf. K. O. Müller and Donaldson's *History of the Literature of Ancient Greece*, 1858) ii. 425 *seqq.*, iii. 26–7.

"We are His Offspring."—Now, Sir, put the Case  
Of some great Man and his descending Race ;  
Conceive this Common Parent of them all  
As willing some to *stand* and some to *fall*,—  
Master, suppose, of all their future Lot,  
Decreeing some to Happiness, some not ; 110  
In some to bring his Kindness into View,  
To show in others what his Wrath can do ;  
To lead the chosen Children by the Hand,  
And leave the rest to fall—who *cannot* stand.

I might proceed, but that the smallest Sketch  
Shows an absurd and arbitrary Wretch,  
Treating his Offspring so as to forbid  
To think that ever *God Almighty* did,—  
To think that Creatures who are said to be  
"His Offspring" should be hurt by His Decree ; 120  
Which had they always minded, *Good* alone,  
And not a Spark of *Evil*, had been known.  
For His Decree, Appointment, Order, Will,  
Predestinating Goodness, Pow'r and Skill,  
Is of Itself the Un-beginning Good,  
The pouring-forth of an Un-ending Flood  
Of Ever-flowing Bliss, which only rolls  
To fill His Vessels, His created Souls.

Happy Himself, the true Divine Desire,  
The Love that flames thro' that Eternal Fire, 130  
Which generates in Him th' Eternal Light,  
Source of all Blessing to created Sight,  
Longs with an Holy Earnestness to spread  
The boundless Glories of Its Fountain Head ;  
To raise the possibilities of Life  
Which rest in *Him* into a joyful Strife,—  
Into a feeling Sense of *Him* from Whom  
The various Gifts of various Blessings come.

To *bless* is His Immutable Decree,  
 Such as could never have begun to be ; 140  
 Decree (if you will use the word "decreed")  
 Did from His *Love* eternally proceed,  
 To manifest the hidden Pow'rs that reign  
 Through outward Nature's universal Scene ;  
 To raise up Creatures from its vast Abyss,  
 Form'd to enjoy communicated Bliss ;  
 Form'd in their sev'ral Orders to extend  
 Of God's Great Goodness Wonders without End.

Who does not see that *Ill* of any Kind  
 Could *never* come from an *All-perfect* Mind ; 150  
 That its Perception never could begin  
 But from a Creature's voluntary Sin,  
 Made in its Maker's Image and imprest  
 With a free Pow'r of being ever blest,—  
 From ev'ry Evil in itself so free  
 That none could rise but by its *own* Decree ?  
 By a Volition opposite to all  
 That God could will did Evil first befall,  
 And still befalls ; for all the Source of Ill  
 Is Opposition to His Blessèd Will, 160  
 And Union with It plainly understood  
 To be the Source of ev'ry real Good.

To certain Truths, which you can scarce deny,  
 You bring *St. Paul's* Expressions in Reply ;  
 Some few obscurer Sayings prone to choose,  
 Where he was talking to the *Roman Jews*.  
 You never heed the num'rous Texts and plain,  
 That will not suit with your "decreeing" Strain,  
 Confirming God's Unalter'd Will to bless  
 In Words as clear as Language can express. 170

"Who willeth all Men to be sav'd," is one,  
Too plain for Comment to be made upon ;  
So that, if *some* be not the same as *all*,  
You must directly contradict *St. Paul*,  
Whene'er you push to its direct Extreme  
Your wild, absurd *Predestination* Scheme.

*Paul's* open, generous, enlighten'd Soul  
Preach'd to Mankind a *Saviour* of the *Whole*,  
Not *Part* of, human Race ; the blinded *Jew*  
Might boast himself in this conceited View,— 180  
Boast of his Father *Abraham* and vent  
The carnal Claims of Family Descent ;  
But the whole Family of Heav'n and Earth,  
*Paul* knew, if blest, must have *another* Birth ;  
That *Jew* and *Gentile* was in ev'ry Place  
Alike the Object of a Saving Grace.  
*Paul* never tied Salvation to a Sect ;  
"All who love God " with him are "God's Elect."

This plain, good Maxim he himself premis'd  
To those fam'd Chapters which were so disguis'd 190  
By studied Comments of a later Day,  
When Words were prest to serve a partial Fray,  
And Scripture turn'd into a Magazine  
Of Arms for sober or for frantic Spleen.

"All who love God ;"—how certain is the Key,  
Whate'er disputed Passages convey !  
In *Paul's* Epistles if some Things are read,  
"Hard to be understood," as *Peter* said,

171. "*Who willeth all Men to be sav'd.*" "To all that be in Rome, beloved of God,  
See *1st Timothy*, ii. 4 : "Who will have all men to be saved, and to come unto the knowledge of the truth."  
198, As *PETER* said. See *2nd St. Peter*,  
iii. 16 : "As also in all his epistles, speaking in them of these things ; in which are some things hard to be understood."

189 *seqq.* This plain, good Maxim he himself premis'd, &c. See *Romans*, i. 7 :

Must this be urg'd to prove in Men's Condition  
 Their "Pre-election" and their "Præterition," 200  
 Or "Pre-damnation?" For that monstrous Word,  
 Of all absurd "Decree" the most absurd,  
 Is into formal Definition wrought  
 By your Divines,—unstartled at the Thought  
 Of Sov'reign Power decreeing to become  
 The Author of Salvation but to *some* ;—  
 To some, resembling others, they admit,  
 Who, are rejected,—why? "He so thought fit ;  
 "Hath not the Potter Pow'r to make his Clay  
 Just what he pleases?"—Well, and tell me, pray, 210  
 What Kind of Potter must we think a Man,  
 Who does not make the best of it he can ;  
 Who, making *some* fine Vessels of his Clay,  
 To show his Pow'r, throws all *the rest* away,  
 Which in itself was equally as fine ?  
 What an Idéa this of Pow'r Divine !  
 Happy for us, if under God's Commands  
 We were as Clay is in the Potter's Hands ;  
 Pliant and yielding readily to take  
 The proper Form which He is pleas'd to make ! 220  
 Happy for us that He has Pow'r ; because  
 An equal *Goodness* executes Its Laws,  
 Rejecting none but such as *will* behave  
 So as that no Omnipotence can save !

Who can conceive the *Infinitely Good*  
 To show less Kindness than He really could,—  
 To pre-concert Damnation and confine  
 Himself, His own Beneficence Divine ?  
 An *Impolency* this, in evil Hour  
 Ascrib'd to God's Beatifying Pow'r 230

209, 210. "*Hath not the Potter,*" &c. See *Introductory Note* to the following piece.

To mark out some of mortal Race  
And form them fit for Heav'nly Joys ?

## VI.

Shall Man reply against the Lord,  
And call His Maker's Ways unjust ;  
The Thunder of Whose Dreadful Word  
Can crush a thousand Worlds to dust ?

## VII.

But, O my Soul, if Truth so bright  
Should dazzle and confound thy sight,  
Yet still His written Will obey,  
And wait the great decisive day !

## VIII.

Then shall He make His Justice known ;  
And the whole World before His Throne  
With Joy or Terror shall confess  
The Glory of His Righteousness.

## THE CONTRAST.

## I.

BEHOLD the Potter and the Clay !  
He forms His Vessels to His Mind ;  
So did Creating *Love* display  
Itself in forming human Kind.

## II.

Th' Almighty Workman's Pow'r and Skill  
Could have no *vile*, but *noble*, Ends ;  
His One Immutable *Good-Will*  
To *all* that He hath made extends.

## III.

This Gracious Sov'reign Lord on High  
By His Eternal Word and Voice

*The Potter and his Clay.*

513

Chose *all* to live, and *none* to die ;  
Nor will He *ever* change His Choice.

IV.

Not by *His* Will, but by their *own*,  
Vile Rebels break His Righteous Laws,  
And make the Terror to be known  
Of which they are *themselves* the Cause.

V.

His *All-electing* Love employs  
All means the human Race to bless,  
That Mortals may His Heav'nly Joys  
By *re-electing* Him possess.

20

VI.

Shall Man reply, that " God *decreed*  
Fall'n *Adam's* Race *not* to be blest ;  
That for a *few* His SON should bleed,  
And *Satan* should have *all the rest* ? "

VII.

Do thou, poor sinful Soul of mine,  
By Faith and Penitence, embrace  
Of Doubtless, *Boundless Love* Divine  
The *Free*, the *Universal* Grace !

VIII.

Let God within thy pliant Soul,  
*Renew* the Image of His Son ;  
The Likeness *marr'd* will then be *Whole*,  
And show what He *in Christ* has done.

30

AN ARGUMENT FOR DAVID'S BELIEF OF A  
FUTURE STATE, INFERRED FROM  
BATHSHEBA'S LAST WORDS TO  
HIM UPON HIS DEATH-BED.

[See *1st Kings*, i. 28-32: "Then King David answered and said, Call me Bath-sheba. And she came into the King's presence, and stood before the King. And the King sware and said, As the Lord liveth, that hath redeemed my soul out of all distress, even as I sware unto thee By the Lord God of Israel, saying, Assuredly Solomon thy son shall reign after me, and he shall sit upon my throne in my stead; even so will I certainly do this day. Then Bath-sheba bowed with her face to the earth, and did reverence to the King, and said, Let my lord King David live for ever. And King David said," &c.

I think it unnecessary to comment upon Byrom's "inference" further than by quoting *Daniel*, ii. 4: "Then spake the Chaldæans to the King" [Nebuchadnezzar] "in Syriac, O King, live for ever: tell thy servants the dream, and we will show the interpretation."]

I.

IF David knew not of a future Life,  
How understood he *Bathsheba* his Wife;  
Who, when he lay upon his Death-bed, came  
To plead for *Solomon's* succeeding claim;  
And, having prosper'd in her own Endeavour,  
Said: "Let my Lord, King David, live for ever?"

II.

What real Wish was *Bathsheba's* Intent,  
If Life hereafter was not what she meant?  
Say, that "for ever" to a King in Health  
Meant a long Life, Prosperity and Wealth,—  
To one that lay a-dying, you must own,  
'Twould be a mere Burlesque upon his Throne.

III.

If she had pray'd for *David's* mild Release,  
Or, "Let my Lord the King depart in Peace,"—  
Tho' even then 'twere difficult to stint  
Her utmost Thought to so minute a Hint,—  
The short-liv'd Comment might have some Pretence ;  
But "Live for ever" has no Sort of Sense ;—

IV.

Unless we grant her Meaning to extend  
To *future Life*, that never has an End. 20  
Piety will, and Reason must, confess  
That her Intention never could be less.  
"King, live for ever," and "God save the King,"—  
Old or new Phrase,—Salvation is the Thing ;—

V.

No poor Salvation to be quickly past,  
And with a deadly *Exit* at the last,—  
To which when *David* was so near, what Share  
Could he enjoy of "Live for ever" Pray'r,  
Had he not known what *Bathsheba* design'd,—  
A Life to come of everlasting Kind ? 30

VI.

Tho' num'rous Proofs might readily be brought  
That this was always holy *David's* Thought,—  
Yet, since by learnèd and long-winded Ways  
Men seek to break the Force of ancient Phrase,  
I single out this plain, familiar one.—  
Now, give as plain an Answer thereupon !

---

AN EXPOSTULATION WITH A ZEALOUS SECTARIST, WHO INVEIGHED IN BITTER TERMS AGAINST THE CLERGY AND CHURCH INSTITUTIONS.

[The following lines are interesting, and not only or chiefly as exhibiting their author's personal loyalty towards the Establishment. The charges which he puts into the mouth of the "Zealous Sectarist," or which he had actually copied from the spoken or written words of some violent non-conformist of his day, are quite familiar to our own. Indeed, there might here and there seem rather more point in them at the close of the nineteenth century than in the middle of the eighteenth century, when ecclesiastical discipline had decayed, when the Church set to the Sects an example of torpor which on the whole they readily followed, and when such prospects of "comprehension" as remained were dimmed quite as much by the languor which prevailed in the Dissenting bodies as by that which beset the church. Thus the fighting spirit displayed by Byrom's "Sectarist" was doubly futile, and well deserved our poet's rebuke.]

N O, Sir ; I cannot see to what good End  
Such bitter Words against the Clergy tend,  
Pour'd from a Zeal so sharp, so unallay'd,  
That suffers no Exception to be made ;  
While the most mild Persuasions to repress  
The bitter Zeal still heighten its Excess.

Its own relentless Thought while it pursues,  
What unrestrain'd Expressions it can use !  
Places of Worship, which the People call  
Churches, are "Synagogues of *Satan*" all ;                   10  
At all *liturgic* Pray'r and Praise it storms,  
As "Man's Inventions, Spirit-quenching Forms ;"  
And, from *baptismal* down to *burial* Rite,  
Sets ev'ry Service in an odious Light ;

All previous Order, with regard to Time,  
Place, or Behaviour, passes for a Crime.

Of "Pharisaic Pride" it culls the Marks,  
To represent the *Bishop* and his *Clerks* ;  
Who are, if offer'd any gentler Plea,  
"The Devil's Ministers," both He and They ; 20  
"Blind Guides," "false Prophets," and a lengthen'd Train  
Of all hard Words that chosen Texts contain.  
These are the *Forms* which, when it would object  
To those in Use, it pleases to select,  
Repeated by its Devotees at once  
As like to Rote as any Church Response.  
Nor is a Treatment of this eager Kind  
To this or that Society confin'd,  
Sect, or Profession,—no, no Matter which,  
"Leaders" or "led," all "fall into the Ditch ;" 30  
None but its own severe Adepts can claim  
Of Truth and Spirit-Worshippers the Name.  
In vain it seeks by any sacred Page  
To justify this unexampled Rage.  
Prophets of old, who spake against th' Abuse  
Of outward Forms, were none of them so loose  
As to condemn, abolish or forbid  
The Things prescrib'd ; but what the People did,  
Who minded nothing but the mere Outside,  
Neglecting wholly what it signified,— 40  
At this Neglect the Prophets all exclaim'd.  
No pious Rites has any of them blam'd ;  
Their true Intent was only to reduce  
All outward Practice to its inward Use.

30. "Leaders," or "led," all "fall into the Ditch." "And if the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the ditch." (*St. Matthew*, xv. 14.)

38. But what the People did. An inverted sentence. The Prophets all exclaimed at the negligence of what the people did.

The World's Redeemer, coming to fulfil  
 All past Predictions of prophetic Quill,—  
 Who more amidst the *Jewish* priestly Pride  
 Than He with all *Mosaic* Rites complied ?  
 Say, that the *Christian* Priests are now as bad  
 As those blind Leaders which the Jews then had ;— 50  
 Was *Zacharias*', *Simeon's*, *Anna's* Mind,  
 Any good Priest, or Man or Woman, blind  
 To offer Incense, or to bear a Part  
 In Temple Service with an upright Heart ?

Can then the Faults of *Clergymen* or *Lay*  
 Destroy Heart-Worship at this present Day ?  
 Will Pray'r, in vain by *Pharisees* preferr'd,  
 Not from repenting *Publicans* be heard ?  
 Will the devout amongst the Christian Flock  
 Not be accepted, tho' the Priest should mock ? 60  
 If they do right in their appointed Spheres,  
*His* Want of Truth and Spirit is not *Theirs*.

Our Lord's Apostles, with an inward View  
 To reconcile the *Gentile* and the *Jew*,  
 To Faith in Him made ev'ry outward Care  
 The most subservient to that main Affair.  
 The greatest Friend to Christian Freedom, *Paul*,  
 Intent to save, was "ev'rything to All."  
 To keep, whatever Forms should rise or cease,  
 "Union of Spirit in the Bond of Peace," 70

51. Was ZACHARIAS', SIMEON'S, ANNA'S all things to all men, that I might by all  
*Mind.* Zacharias, the father of St. John means save some." (*1st Corinthians*, ix.  
 (see *St. Luke*, i. 5 *seqq.*) ; Simeon (*ib.*, 22.)

iii. 25 *seqq.*) ; Anna, "a prophetess," 70. *Union of Spirit in the Bond of*  
 the mother of the Blessed Virgin (*ib.*, 36 *Peace.* "Endeavouring to keep the unity  
*seqq.*) of the Spirit in the bond of peace."

68. "Ev'rything to All." "I am made (*Ephesians*, iv. 3.)

Th' Effects of hasty, rash, condemning Zeal  
He saw, and mourn'd, and labour'd to repeal.

Succeeding Saints, when Priest or Magistrate  
Became tyrannical in Church or State,  
Reprov'd their evil Practices, but then  
Rever'd the Office, tho' they blam'd the Men.  
They gave no Instance of untemper'd Heat  
That roots up all before it, Tares or Wheat,—  
As if, by humanly invented Care  
Of Cultivation, Wheat itself was Tare. 80  
'Tis true, all Sects are grown corrupt enough,  
But Zeal so indiscriminately rough  
May well give others Reason to suspect  
Some want of Knowledge in a Novel Sect  
(If such there be) that seems to take a Pride  
In *satanising* all the World beside,  
Without the least Authority yet known,  
Or Species of Example but its own.

One Mischief is, that its unguarded Terms  
Hurt many sober Truths which it affirms. 90  
"Worship in Truth and Spirit" suffers too  
By being plac'd in such a hostile View.  
"Oh, but all self-will Worshipping is wrong!"—  
True; but to whom does that Defect belong?

77. *They gave no Instance.* Such instances most usually occur in times which like Byrom's stood midway between an age in which the expression of "sectarian opinion" was persecuted, and one in which it must be loud if it means to have listeners.

80. *Wheat itself was Tare.* Among the "cockles" sown in the "clean corn" of the Mediæval Church,—the tares bound into bundles or faggots by a jealous orthodoxy,—are the "martyrs" of later forms of our Christian faith.

84. *A novel Sect.* This, I presume, merely signifies a modern sect.

86. SATANISING. Making over to Satan; anathematising.

91. "*Worship in Truth and Spirit.*" See *St. John*, iv. 23 and 24.

Was chang'd by Positive, Commanding Will,  
 Or Threat Forbidding, to a deadly Ill,"  
 Charges by Consequence the most direct  
 On God Himself that Ill and its Effect.

## IV.

Language had surely come to a poor Pass,  
 Before an Author of distinguish'd Class 20  
 For shining Talents could endure to make  
 In such a Matter such a gross Mistake,—  
 Could thus derive Death's Origin and Root  
 From "*Adam's* eating of an *harmless* Fruit!"

## V.

"From Adam's eating?—Did not God forbid  
 The Taste of it to Adam?"—Yes, He did.—  
 "And was it harmless, must we understand,  
 To disobey God's positive Command?"—  
 No, by no Means; but then the *Harm*, we see,  
 Came not from God's *Command*, but from the *Tree*! 30

## VI.

If He command, the Action must be good;  
 If He forbid, some Ill is understood.  
 The Tree, the Fruit, had dreadful Ills conceal'd  
 Not *made* by His Forbidding, but *reveal'd*;  
 That our first Parents by a true Belief  
 Might know enough to shun the fatal Grief.

## VII.

The dire Experience of a World of Woe  
 Forbidding Mercy will'd them not to know;  
 Told them what Ill was in the *false Desire*  
 Which their free Wills were tempted to admire; 40

That of such Fruit the Eating was "to die."  
Its "harmless" Nature was the *Tempter's Lie*.

VIII.

To urge it *now*, and to impute the Harm  
Of Death and Evil to the kind Alarm  
Of God's Command, so justly understood  
To will His Creatures Nothing else but Good,  
Is for a *Babel Fiction* to resign  
RIGHT REASON, SCRIPTURE and the LOVE DIVINE.

44. *Alarm*. Warning.

---

ON JONATHAN EDWARDS' ENQUIRY  
CONCERNING FREEWILL.

[The following lines are here reprinted from *Remains*, ii. 639-643. They possess a special biographical interest as having been written by Byrom in the last year of his life (for he died on September 26th, 1763, and they cannot have been composed before the latter part of November, 1762) and as constituting in all probability the last of his longer efforts in verse. In the *Remains*, they are immediately preceded by a letter to Byrom's kinsman, Richard Houghton, who was then staying with him at Manchester, from John Newton, who two years afterwards became curate of Olney, and who was at that time residing at Liverpool, where he was brought much into contact with Whitefield, and in some degree also with Wesley. (See Benham's *Introductory Memoir* to the Globe Edition of *The Poetical Works* of William Cowper, 1870, and cf. *The "Evangelical" Succession* in Sir James Stephen's *Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography*, 4th edn., 1860, pp. 403-4.) This letter contains the following references to Byrom and to Jonathan Edwards' *Careful and Strict Enquiry into the MODERN Prevailing Notions of that Freedom of Will, which is supposed to be essential to Moral Agency, Virtue and Vice, Reward, Punish-*

*ment, Praise and Blame*, which had been first published in 1754, and of which the 4th edition, 1775, is now before me :

"I beg, Sir, you will present my sincere respects to Dr. Byrom. I should have been glad to have waited upon him while *you* are at Manchester, but opportunity is wanting. If you have taken Edwards' book with you I hope that it may not be to the disadvantage of my favourite author. In that performance he appears a dry metaphysician, but this was not his usual way of writing. I know no man more obvious and experimental in the other treatises of his publishing which have come to my perusal. But his inquiry into the freedom of will was wrote *ad hominem*, against a set of writers who by subtil distinctions and fine-spun reasonings, while they professed to recommend the τὸ καλὸν of virtue, almost undermined the foundations upon which it alone stands. To sweep away their cobwebs was his principal design ; though he incidentally treats of the point between the Doctor and me, and I think plainly shows that when we attempt from the analogy of our own ideas to determine absolutely how the Almighty should act, or conclude that whatever is harsh, difficult, or perhaps absurd to us, must necessarily be so in itself, we may easily go too far. For my own part, I endeavour to restrain the working of my mind upon matters that are too high for me within these two principles : 1. That the Judge of all the earth will do right. 2. That a period is coming when this shall be confessed and known by all his intelligent creatures. I believe that man is justly chargeable for his own evil. God cannot be the author of evil any more than the rays of the sun can turn water into ice or day into night. Yet unless he did more for some than for others, I am persuaded we should all be alike. If, without his grace striving against and overpowering my obstinacy, I had been a blasphemer to this hour—if this grace which saved me is not afforded to some others who equally need it—it seems to me that I have been peculiarly favoured ; and indeed I would rather admire at it than dispute about it. And after all, what harm can it do either to myself or to others, that I choose to ascribe the happy change I experience rather to his goodness than to my own."

The "point between the Doctor and me" referred to by Newton was of course "the Calvinistic system," to which as Byrom notes in recording in his *Journal* a visit from Newton to Manchester on April 20th, 1762, the latter was "strongly attached." Byrom, while stating this on Houghton's authority, adds that his kinsman called Newton "a very well-disposed man" who "professes a great veneration for Mr. Law, but ingenuously owns that he cannot fathom his depths." (*Remains*, ii. 637.)

Jonathan Edwards was born in Connecticut in 1703, began preaching at New York in 1723, and died in 1758, as president of New Jersey College. His biography is interesting, to cite the late Professor Nichol's *American Literature* (1880), p. 53, "for the extraordinary precocity

which, at the age of twelve, showed itself in a schoolboy's letter against the doctrine of the materiality of the soul ; for his minute observation, not much later, of external, especially insect, nature, in his paper on the habits of spiders ; for his general scholarship, for the clear vigour of his logical thought, for his singular lucidity of expression, magnetic force of persuasion, and his simple, unassuming, gentle life." Professor Nichol contrasts the resignation and endurance which Edwards showed amidst the severe trials of his life with the ruthless "terrorism" of his pulpit oratory when enforcing certain applications of the doctrines which he upheld. A more striking antagonism is perhaps that between the grandeur of his philosophical perceptions and the narrowness of the doctrines inherited by him on the crucial question of contemporary theology. He is thus referred to by an eminent American historian, when speaking of the true function of Universal History as that of seeking to relate "the sum of all God's works of providence :"

"In America, the first conception of its office, in the mind of Jonathan Edwards, though still cramped and perverted by theological forms not derived from observation, was nobler than the theory of Vico : more grand and general than the method of Bossuet, it embraced in its outline the whole 'work of redemption,'—the history of the influence of all moral truth in the gradual regeneration of humanity. The meek New England divine, in his quiet association with the innocence and simplicity of rural life, knew that in every succession of revolution the cause of civilisation and moral reform is advanced. 'The new creation'—such are his words—'is more excellent than the old. So it ever is, that when one thing is removed by God to make way for another, the new excels the old.'—'The wheels of Providence,' he adds, 'are not turned about by blind chance, but they are full of eyes round about, and they are guided by the spirit of God. Where the spirit goes, they go.'" (Bancroft's *History of the United States*, London edn., 1851, ii. 987.)

Such a passage illustrates Mr. Leslie Stephen's description of Jonathan Edwards as "a seer oppressed by his tremendous faith," and of his writings as representing "the blending of the old Calvinism with more recent philosophical thought" (*u.s.*, ii. 368, 427). The argument of the work on which his fame principally rests, and which has been reviewed by most of the great metaphysicians from Kant to Mill, I cannot undertake to examine ; its essence appears to me to lie in an attempt to establish a fundamental distinction between "moral" and "natural" necessity. As to the style of the *Enquiry*, it seems to me eminently lucid ; while from the nature of the theme, it would be futile to seek in this particular work of its author for any further charm.]

"JONATHAN EDWARDS, by this book's edition,  
 Appears to be a dry metaphysician."  
 (In Mr. N.'s own letter.) — Well might I  
 Be disappointed by a book so dry,—  
 So sapless dry,—who cherish no opinion  
 Of Calvinistic cobwebs, or Arminian !

"To sweep away the last was the design  
 Of this distinguished, favourite divine,—  
 His principal intention."—Be it so ;  
 This was no part of my concern to know,— 10  
 No part of my expectancy to find,—  
 Whose hopes, though faint, were of a diff'rent kind.  
 Something, I fancied, worth attending to  
 Might probably enough occur to view  
 Within a work which so sincere a friend  
 To what he thought was right did so commend.

If, when for want of time to reconcile  
 Our thoughts in one short conversation, while  
 I asked what author he supposed, if read,  
 Would best explain his notions, he had said,— 20  
 "I'll send you one of the New-England sages,  
 Who in four hundred full octavo pages

3. *Mr. N's.* Mr. Newton's. See or more good manners" (p. vii.). The  
*Introductory Note.* elder Jonathan Edwards, Principal of Jesus

6. *Of Calvinistic cobwebs, or Arminian.* College, Oxford, wrote, among numerous  
 In the *Preface* to the *Enquiry*, the author other works, *The Arminian Doctrine con-*  
 says : "If, when I had occasion to speak demn'd by the Holy Scripture, in answer to  
 of those Divines who are commonly called *Dr. Whitby* (1711).

by this name, I had, instead of styling them 17 *seqq.* *If, when, &c.* This sentence  
*Arminians*, called them *these men*, as Dr. is worth noting as a terrible example  
*Whitby* does *Calvinistic* Divines, it pro- of the involution of which Byrom,  
 bably would not have been taken any naturally a clear writer, was occasionally  
 better, or thought to show a better temper, guilty.

Has by his dry and metaphysic skill  
Demolish'd ev'ry meaning of Free-Will,  
But brought in dire Necessity's behoof  
Less obvious, less experimental proof,—  
Leaving in this attempt the usual way  
Of writing which his other books display :"—  
Such a description (and his words contain  
No less, you see, if suffer'd to speak plain,) 30  
Might have diminish'd the profound surprise  
Which in my mind would naturally rise  
Without the help of such a previous hint  
From dry Enquiry's metaphysic print.

Without disparaging the works unknown,  
I really could not relish this, I own ;  
Nor cease to wonder how your neighbour could  
Who had himself said many things so good  
In sermons far surpassing, if one looks,  
All such polemically wither'd books.— 40  
In this, too oft instead of the divine  
The wrangling soph. appears along the line,—  
The trifling shuffler of distinctions round ;  
All sense of words still fashion'd to confound  
All obvious thoughts concerning good and ill  
Through mere aversion to a man's Free-Will ;  
Which, oft confess'd in phrases tantamount,  
The tedious page still rambles to discount

42. *The wrangling soph.* A "Sophister" Being constantly shaped with a view to  
and a "Wrangler" are alike properly dis- confounding, &c. The reference is, per-  
putants at an exercise of dialectics ; the haps, to the argument, in Part I., sec. ii.  
Cambridge applications of the terms are "that *the Will always is as the greatest*  
of course altogether technical. *apparent good is,*" which makes it necessary

44-5. *Still fashion'd to confound*  
*All obvious thoughts concerning good and*  
*ill.*

for the writer to define—i.e. limit—the  
sense which in this connexion he attaches  
to the terms "good" and "evil."

Its metaphysical conceits among,  
 Dry as the cobwebs which they sweep along. 50

“The book has been in print for many years,  
 And yet no answer, 'tis observ'd, appears.”  
 But would our honest friend consider why,  
 Its very dryness might forbid reply ;  
 And metaphysics, such as it pursues,  
 Require some patience even to peruse.  
 Want of an answer he could scarce object,  
 Since by their own voluminous defect  
 Some books may possibly be deem'd too bad  
 For any formal answer to be had. 60

But, take the book, who likes it ?—Mr. N.  
 Himself, for me, has much the better pen ;  
 And were his better sense but once untied  
 From partial systems upon ev'ry side,  
 He would soon see that gratitude of mind  
 Did not require God's Grace to be confin'd,  
 And not to show like favour in like case,  
 In order more to magnify the Grace ;—  
 As if it wanted, for a foil, to doom  
 Its equal needers to eternal gloom ! 70  
 “If I had been,” says he, “but for the pow'r  
 Of Grace bestow'd, blasphemer to this hour,—  
 This Grace to me if God is pleas'd to grant,  
 Not to some others who have equal want,—

52. *And yet no answer, 'tis observ'd, appears.* In the long run, few essays have ever been more amply criticised, though I am not aware of any direct “answer.”

62. *For me.* To my mind.

67. *And not to show.* And did not require that the Grace of God should refuse to show the same benevolence in each case of the same kind.



*On Jonathan Edwards concerning Freewill.* 529

I am, I think, in equal case of need  
Peculiarly favour'd ; which indeed  
I rather would admire than dispute.  
And after all what harm can be the fruit  
Of happy change ascribed to Him alone,  
And to His Goodness rather than my own ?" 80

Doubtless all praise to God Alone is due  
For happy change ; but is it therefore true  
That this Good God refuses to admit  
The change in others, in all points so fit  
For such a blessing ? Will This Father leave  
One child without, that can or will receive ?  
Is a self-righteousness so much amiss,  
That makes man's merit greater than it is,  
And a self-favour'dness from danger free  
That, clinging to its own peculiar *me*, 90  
Cries, " God, I thank Thee, that I am supplied  
With Grace, to other men like me denied ? "

Let Mr. N. consider what is done—  
It is his own allusion—by the sun !  
Unchang'd itself, it shines with equal day  
On equal fitness to receive its ray.  
All Calvinistic or Arminian strain  
Is cobweb search ; a principle so plain  
Sets this, on which he goes, in its true  
" *Shall not the Judge of all the earth*

91. *God, I thank Thee.* See St. Ch.  
xviii. 11.

100. "SHALL NOT THE JUDGE  
THE EARTH DO RIGHT?" See

# MISCELLANEOUS PIECES,

CONSISTING OF

THOUGHTS ON VARIOUS SUBJECTS, FRAGMENTS,  
EPIGRAMS, &c.

---

## THE WAYS OF GOD.

[For an application of this thought see the poem *Moses' Vision*, *ante*, vol. i. pp. 232-3.]

WITH peaceful Mind thy Race of Duty run ;  
God Nothing does, or suffers to be done,  
But what thou would'st Thyself, if thou could'st see  
Through all Events of Things as well as He.

---

## NATURAL KNOWLEDGE AND HEAVENLY WISDOM.

[The reference is to thinkers of the school of Samuel Clarke, "the great English representative," as Mr. Leslie Stephen calls him, "of the *a priori* method of constructing a system of theology." Compare the stanzas *On Faith, Reason and Sight*, *ante*, pp. 339-41.]

NATURAL Knowledge is a Moonshine Light,  
And dreaming Sages still keep sleeping by't;  
But Heav'nly Wisdom like the rising Sun  
Awakens Nature,—and good Works are done.

---

REPENTANCE.

LET thy Repentance be without Delay!—  
If thou defer it to another Day,  
Thou must repent for a Day more of Sin,  
While a Day less remains to do it in.

---

THE COST OF BEING RELIGIOUS.

TO be religious, something it will cost,—  
Some Riches, Honours, Pleasures will be lost;  
But if thou countest the Sum total o'er,  
Not to be so will cost a great deal more.

---

WORKS WITHOUT LOVE.

HE that does Good with an unwilling Mind,  
Does that to which he is not well inclin'd.  
'Twill be Reward sufficient for the Fact,  
If God shall pardon his obedient Act.

---

DISAPPOINTMENTS.

IF outward Comforts without real Thought  
Of any inward Holiness are sought,  
God disappoints us oft,—and *kindly* too;  
To make us holy is His Constant View.

---

DESIRE.

THINK, and be *careful* what thou art within;  
For there is Sin in the Desire of Sin.  
Think, and be *thankful*, in a diff'rent Case;  
For there is Grace in the Desire of Grace.

---

## PRAYER.

[These lines express with equal simplicity and beauty the substance of Law's more elaborate analysis of the true significance of prayer in *The Spirit of Prayer*, part ii. pp. 172-174 (*Works*, vol. vii.). Canon Overton (*William Law*, p. 273) cites part of this passage as illustrating the mystic "prayer of silence."]

PRAY'R does not ask, or want, the Skill and Art  
Of forming Words, but a devoted Heart.  
If thou art really in a Mind to pray,  
God knows thy Heart and all that it would say.

---

## CONTENT.

[Compare, as to Byrom's repeated treatment of this theme, the *Introductory Note* to *A Dialogue on Contentment*, *ante*, vol. i. p. 121.]

CONTENT is better, all the Wise will grant,  
Than any earthly Good that thou canst want ;  
And Discontent, with which the Foolish fill  
Their Minds, is worse than any earthly Ill.

---

## THE REWARDS OF THE CONTENTED.

[The beggar Lazarus, who after death "was carried by the angels into Abraham's bosom" (*St. Luke*, xvi. 22) is here treated as a type of true contentment, similar to that presented by the beggar in the anecdote of *The Beggar and the Divine* (*ante*, pp. 383-8).]

TWO Heav'ns a right contented Man surround,—  
One here, and one hereafter, to be found :  
One in his *own* meek Bosom here on Earth,  
And one in *Abraham's* at his future Birth.

---

FAITH AND CHARITY.

NO Faith towards God can e'er subsist with Wrath  
Tow'rds Man, nor Charity with want of Faith.  
From the same Root hath each of them it's Growth ;  
You have not either, if you have not both.

---

FAITH, HOPE AND LOVE.

FAITH is the burning Ardour of Desire ;  
Hope is the Light arising from its Fire ;  
Love is the Spirit That, proceeding thence,  
Completes all Virtue in a Christian Sense.

---

FAITH AND WORKS.

[Cf. *A Soliloquy, on reading a Dispute about Faith and Works, ante*,  
pp. 498-500.]

NOR Steel nor Flint alone produces Fire ;  
No Spark arises till they both conspire.  
Nor Faith alone, nor Work without, is right ;  
Salvation rises, when they both unite.

---

ZEAL AND MEEKNESS.

ZEAL without Meekness like a Ship at Sea  
To rising Storms may soon become a Prey ;  
And Meekness without Zeal is like the same,  
When a dead Calm stops every sailing Aim.

---

PROCRASTINATION.

IF Gold be offer'd thee, thou dost not say,  
" To-morrow I will take it, not To-day."  
Salvation offer'd, why art thou so cool,  
To let thyself become To-morrow's Fool ?

---

## TRUE AND FALSE INSPIRATION.

“**A**N heated Fancy or Imagination  
 May be mistaken for an Inspiration.”—  
 True ; but is this Conclusion fair to make,  
 That Inspiration must be all Mistake ?  
 “A Pebble-stone is not a Diamond.”—True ;  
 But must a Diamond be a Pebble too ?

---

## HYPOCRICY.

**H**YPOCRITES in Religion form a Plan  
 That makes them hateful both to God and Man :  
 By seeming Zeal they lose the World's Esteem,—  
 And God's, because they are not what they seem.

---

## ABASEMENT.

**A**N *humble* Man, tho' all the World assault  
 To pull him down, yet God will still exalt ;  
 Nor can a *proud* by all the World's Renown  
 Be lifted up,—for God will pull him down.

---

## THE RECOMPENSE OF CHARITY.

[The second line of this Epigram is slightly obscure. The meaning must however be: “that to which he can only give a transitory glance.”]

**H**E is no Fool, who charitably gives  
 What he can only look at whilst he lives,—  
 Sure as he is to find, when hence he goes,  
 A Recompense which he can never lose.

---

## INTEREST UPON CHARITY.

[See *Proverbs*, xix. 17 : “He that hath pity upon the poor lendeth unto the Lord ; and that which he hath given will he pay him again.”]

IF giving to poor People be to lend  
Thy Money to the Lord, who is their Friend,  
The highest Int'rest upon Int'rest sure  
Is to let out thy Money to the Poor.

---

THE SEASON FOR WATCHING.

WHEN Grief or Joy shall press upon thee hard,  
Be then especially upon thy Guard !  
Then is most Danger of not acting right ;  
A calmer State will give a surer Light.

---

WORLDLINESS.

IF we mind nothing but the Body's Pride,  
We lose the Body and the Soul beside ;  
If we have nothing but the Earth in View,  
We lose the Earth and Heav'nly Riches too.

---

SINNERS.

[See *St. Matthew*, ix. 13 : "I am not come to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance." Cf. *St. Mark*, ii. 17.]

"HE is a Sinner," you are pleas'd to say.  
Then love him for the Sake of Christ, I pray.  
If on his gracious Words you place your Trust,—  
"I came to call the Sinners, not the Just,"—  
Second his Call ; which if you will not do,  
You'll be the greater Sinner of the two.

---

THE SPIRIT OF PRAYER AND THANKSGIVING.

[Cf. the lines on *Prayer*, *ante*, p. 532. The last state of the Spirit of Prayer, says Law in the passage there cited, "is its highest union with God in this Life."]

PRAY'R and Thanksgiving is the vital Breath  
That keeps the Spirit of a Man from Death ;

For Pray'r attracts into the living Soul  
 The Life That fills the universal Whole ;  
 And giving Thanks is breathing forth again  
 The Praise of Him Who is the Life of Men.

---

A DEAF AND DUMB GOD.

[This thought, whether original or not, seems to me a felicitous retort upon the deniers of a Revelation. Compare the splendid mockery of the priests of Baal by Elijah, *1st Kings*, xviii. 27.]

TO own a God who does not speak to Men,  
 Is first to own and then disown again ;  
 Of all Idolatry the total Sum  
 Is having Gods that are both deaf and dumb.

---

THE LOVE AND THE FEAR OF GOD.

LOVE does the Good which God commands to do ;  
 Fear shuns the Ill which He prohibits too.  
 They both describe, tho' by a diff'rent Name,  
 A Disposition of the Mind the same.

---

THE MOTE AND THE BEAM.

[See *St. Matthew*, vii. 3-5 ; *St. Luke*, vi. 41-2.]

I.

WHY should I be so eager to espy  
 The Mote that swims upon my Brother's Eye,  
 And still forget, as if I had not known,  
 The dark'ning Beam that overspreads my own ?

II.

O let me play the Hypocrite no more,  
 But strive to cure my own obstructed Sight ;

Then shall I see much clearer than before  
To set my undiscerning Brother right !

---

ON THE EPICUREAN, STOIC AND CHRISTIAN PHILOSOPHY.

I.

THREE diff'rent Schemes Philosophers assign,—  
A Chance, a Fate, a Providence Divine.  
Which to embrace of these three sev'ral Views,  
Methinks, it is not difficult to choose.

II.

For, first : what Wisdom, or what Sense, to cry,  
" Things happen as they do,—we know not why ?"  
Or how are we advanc'd one Jot, to know,  
" When Things once are," that " they must needs be so ?"

III.

To see such Order, and yet own no Laws,—  
Feel such Effects, and yet confess no Cause,— 10  
What can be more extravagant and odd ?  
He only reasons who believes a God.

---

AN EPIGRAM,

ON THE BLESSEDNESS OF DIVINE LOVE.

[ " And now abideth faith, hope, charity, these three ; but the greatest of these is charity."—(*1st Corinthians*, xiii. 13.) ]

FAITH, Hope and Love were question'd what they thought  
Of future Glory which Religion taught.—  
Now, Faith *believ'd* it firmly to be true,  
And Hope *expected* so to find it too ;  
Love answer'd, smiling with a conscious Glow :  
" Believe ? Expect ? I *know* it to be so."

## TRANSLATED VERSE.

## THE IMMORTALITY OF THE SOUL.

[The Translation which follows is reproduced from a thin quarto, printed in London, for W. Owen, at Homer's Head, near Temple Bar, 1754 (price one shilling), under the following title :

"*The Immortality of the Soul.* A poem. Book the First. Translated from the Latin ;" the following motto being appended to the title :

"Painful the present Life of Man ;  
No Rest from Labours thro' the Span :  
To see the better, that lies hid,  
The dark surrounding Clouds forbid.  
Hence, madly fond are we of this  
That shines on Earth with showy Bliss,—  
Merely thro' Inexperience fond,  
Because unshown the Life beyond.  
Fables and Trifles all our Care  
For want of due Reflexion share.—(Euripid. *Hippol.*, v. 139)."

(The lines in the *Hippolytus* (vv. 190–1) which appears to be cited in this passage, hardly imply a reflexion on the vanity of things human, but rather convey through the mouth of the bewildered nurse of Phædra a sense of the weariness which the conditions of life involve for both classes and masses.)

That this Translation has correctly been attributed to Byrom, admits of little doubt. A copy of *Friendly Advice to the Poor of Manchester*, by the Rev. John Clayton (as to whom cf. *ante*, vol. i. pp. 549–50), published in 8vo by Messrs. Newton of Manchester in 1756, has at the end an advertisement of Books sold by the publishers, and among these is announced: "*The Immortality of the Soul.* A Poem. Book I. Translated from the Latin of J. [*sic*] H. Brown, Esq. By John Byrom, M.A., F.R.S. Price 1s." (*From a note by the late Mr. J. E. Bailey.*) Byrom was well acquainted with the author of the poem, who was one of his pupils in shorthand, and whom he several times mentions in his *Diary* (see *Remains*, i. 550 *et al.*). His Library contains the original Poem *de Animi Immortalitate* (4to London, 1754), as well as translations, both in quarto,

by Wm. Hay and by Dr. Richard Grey, both dated London, 1754. (See *Catalogue*, p. 40.) It further contains Sir John Davies' *Nosce Teipsum*, or *The Delphick Oracle expounded as a Looking-glass for the Soul* (fol., London, 1688), from which work the *Preface* to the present *Translation* cites certain extracts, together with the same author's *Immortality of the Soul* (which is really the Second Part of the work bearing the above title), and a prose exposition by "W. R." of *Nosce Teipsum* (*Catalogue*, pp. 65-6, 185); besides the replies of Dr. Samuel Clarke and Daniel Whitby to Henry Dodwell's *Discourse proving the Soul to be naturally mortal*.

Isaac Hawkins Browne (born 1705, died 1760) although twice returned to the House of Commons, obtained his reputation by his literary performances and by his social powers. Indeed, the order of the above statement was reversed by the statement of Johnson (*Boswell's Life*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, ii. 339): "We must not estimate a man's powers by his being able or not able to deliver his sentiments in public. Isaac Hawkins Browne, one of the first wits of this country, got into Parliament, and never opened his mouth." (Boswell's editor notes that Browne—who like other scholarly wits appears to have had a liking for parody—was the author of the immortal distich ridiculing the bathos of Pope's compliment to Murray, "so known, so honoured in the House of Lords.") Among his literary productions the Latin poem *De Animi Immortalitate* (1754) seems to have been the most important, although not the only, serious work. I find the following interesting references to Browne and his work in *Memoirs of the Life of Mrs. Elizabeth Carter* (2 vols., 3rd edn., 1816) pp. 149-151: "About this time, the late Mr. Hawkins Browne published his celebrated Latin poem on the Immortality of the Soul. He was acquainted with Mrs. Carter, and wished for her opinion of that work while it was in *MS.* Mr. Duncombe, who was a friend of both, sent it to her with a letter, of which the following is an extract:

"Mr. Browne desires me to forward these lines to you, with Mrs. Browne's and his compliments . . . They are, he says, just writ, and designed, if approved of, to be inserted in his poem. He begs you will send him a critique on them with the utmost freedom . . . He desires particularly to know your opinion of these lines '*Quid memorem*,' &c., to '*oblita priorem*;' whether he shall insert or omit them . . ." [They do not appear to have been inserted.] In a subsequent letter Mr. Duncombe says: "Mr. Browne designs to write to you, and to send you his whole poem in *MS.*

The Archbishop (Dr. Herring) is highly pleased with it." (It was dedicated to his Grace, and printed in 1754.)

Mrs. Carter, like the rest of the world, very highly approved of this "learned and excellent work," and says in her answer : "I heartily wish he may be prevailed on to attempt something on the same subject in English. They are very beautiful, and I hope soon to have the pleasure of seeing the whole poem in print . . ." To her friend Miss Talbot, Mrs. Carter spoke in still higher terms of this "admirable work." "I have just been making," says she, "some little foolish remarks upon a very excellent poem, which I hope will soon be published, on the Immortality of the Soul. It is written by Mr. Browne, and I extremely regret its being in Latin, though perhaps it may be just as intelligible to many of our pretty free-thinking fellows as if I had wrote it in plain English. Mrs. Browne would have had me undertake to translate it, but I could as soon have built a house."

Two editions of Browne's poems were published in 1768 by his son and namesake, whose *Essays, Religious and Moral* (1815) are for their own sake worthy of the notice of any reader who appreciates candour of mind reflecting itself in lucidity of statement.

Byrom's *Preface* has a certain interest of its own as showing the laboriousness of the method of translation which, while adhering to his preference for rime, he imposed upon himself. His remarks upon the metre of the *Nosce Teipsum* (the metre of Dryden's *Annus Mirabilis*) are decidedly to the point ; while he shows both acumen and judgment in pointing out a remarkable series of parallelisms between passages of Sir John Davies' and Isaac Hawkins Browne's poems, without founding thereon the charge of plagiarism, too commonly made in analogous cases without sufficient consideration.

At the close of his *Preface*, Byrom, or more probably his printer, inserts the following "Advertisement": "That Gentlemen who shall have any Inclination to compare the Translation with the Original may the readier do it, the *English* Pages are printed so as to correspond with the *Latin*; either exactly or within a Verse or two: Every Page but the first and last having just Twenty Verses, as the *Latin* appeared to have at first; and the Number of Verses was thought to be equal upon the Whole; till it was observed that the *Latin* Copy, in three Pages, had but Nineteen. But this will not hinder the one from being interleaved

with the other, commodiously enough." I regret to be unable to accommodate the conscientious reader of the present reprint with a parallel Latin text.]

PREFACE.

The Poem *De Animi Immortalitate* having been already honoured with Two Translations, an Apology may perhaps be expected for presuming to attempt a Third,—tho' but in part.

The best that occurs to Mind at present, or at least the truest, is this,—It was the Result of a proposed experiment (not long in executing) made to see how far it might be possible, in *English*, to represent the *Latin*, Verse for Verse, or (if the Word be coinable) *carminatim*.

Rime, which had been previously resolved upon (exclusive of Triplets) would, of necessity, require a Line more, or less, when the Number of Lines was odd, in such *Latin* Periods as could not well be made to run into each other. This Liberty was unavoidable; and no farther was designed to be taken.

The Restraint of Rime, however, tho' a very agreeable one to the Masters of it—the peculiar Felicities of the *Latin* Language—and the Extent of its *Hexameters*—made certain Difficulties still more apparent; but the Attempt succeeding better than was at first imagined, an intended Specimen grew unawares to such a length as to induce its Continuance to the end of the first Book.

That Period was Admonishment enough to stop. And indeed, the subject of the Poem, so far as it related to *The Immortality of the Soul*, had, at that Period, received its completed Consideration; the second Part pursuing, chiefly, its immediate Consequence—a future State of Rewards and Punishments.

So that this first Book may be looked upon as a finished Piece, wherein the various Arguments arising from natural, or rational Reflexions on the Subject, lead the Reader to this just, and interesting Conclusion, that — *Nothing perishable can ever satisfy a Soul, that must exist to all Eternity.*

Not that all the Arguments, of this Kind, can be supposed to be exhausted in so small a Compass. It was enough to select a Number of such as appeared to be the properest for present Purpose,—the most likely to engage the Attention of any ingenuous Reader, who had not been, as yet, so happy as to fix upon shorter, and in themselves considered clearer, stronger, and more affecting Demonstrations.—Such, I mean, as are directly taken from the Principles of Religion, and their compendious, and authoritative Summary—the *Gospel*.

To the Truth of which all Arguments whatever afford an Evidence, in Proportion to the Extent, and Fairness of their Application.

If the Reader would see an *English Poem*, wherein the Immortality of the Soul, and the Subjects akin to it, are more diffusely treated on, he may enquire for one intitled — *Nosce Teipsum*; or *The Delphic Oracle expounded as a Looking-glass for the Soul*.

It was written by Sir John Davies, Attorney-General to Queen Elizabeth, and contains about 480 Stanzas, of four Lines each,—the Measure five Feet,—and the Rimes alternate. — If the Poet had but designed it without Intersections—in the

same Measure — and with Rimes immediate — it would, in all Likelihood, have been, at present, too celebrated a Performance to need any particular Direction for Enquiry.

Stanzas have, sometimes, a beautiful Propriety in Shorter Compositions ; but in long ones, and especially upon grand or serious Subjects, the last mentioned is the truest general Standard for English Poetry.

For Instance : where the Argument in both the Poems is just the same, and taken from the self motive Power of Mind, or Soul ; and where the Consequence is really as plain to serious Attention, as the Fact is to common Consciousness : Sir *John's* Quatrain runs thus :—

*And if herself she can so lively move  
And never need a foreign Help to take,—  
Then must her Motion everlasting prove,  
“Because herself she never can forsake.”*

This would read exceedingly well in a short Excursion upon the Subject, in Company with a few other Stanzas, but in the Course of so long a Poem Incisions grow fatiguing ; and even this, where it occurs, has not a Dignity so proportionate to the Sentiment as *Heroic* Verse, as it is called, would have bestowed upon it.

If the Latin Poem had been in any other Measure, it might have lain more open to the like Objection than as it runs at present.

*Tum porro ipsa sui motrix est, non aliunde  
Instincta ; ut quodcunque sua virtute movet se  
Vivet in aeternum, quia se non deseret unquam.*

Mind is the Mover of itself, we know,  
And that which Motion to itself can give  
Leaves not itself,—it must for ever live.

Again ; — the Argument taken from the Vivacity, if one may so call it, of some dying Men, is a very intelligible, if not sensible, Conviction that the Mind is not Dying, tho' the Body be. They who can be witty enough to suspect it, may, by analogous Logic, be foolish enough to imagine that the Body is dead, when they perceive the Garment, that it had been clothed with, lying motionless upon the Ground.—Here again is Sir *John* :

*But most of them, ev'n to their dying Hour,  
Retain a Mind more lively, quick and strong,  
And better use their understanding Pow'r,  
Than when their Brains were warm, and Limbs were young.  
For, though the Body wasted be and weak,  
And though the leaden Form of Earth it bears,—  
Yet, when we hear that half-dead Body speak,  
We oft are ravished to the heavenly Spheres.  
Namque ubi torpescunt artus jam morte propinquâ.  
Acrior est acies tum mentis et entheus ardor ;  
Tempore non alio Facundia suavior, atque  
Fatidicæ jam tum Voces morientis ab ore.*

For, when Death comes, the cold approaching Hour  
Sharpens the Mind, and warms with entheous Pow'r;  
What Eloquence have dying Men, what Fire?  
They speak prophetic Words — and they expire.

But I forget that little Wits, the Originals at least, who scorn to be indebted to any Understanding but their own (and so judge accordingly) will, if I go on, accuse the *Latinist* of Plagiarism,—the weakest of all Reproaches that can be cast upon any Poet who adopts good sense and places it in any advantageous Light whatever.

For if he be a good one — who would not be glad when he embellished an happy Thought of another Man's? If a bad one — who would be sorry when he produced no silly Fancies of his own?

I should apprehend that Readers, to whom the *Latin* Poem was acceptable, would have sooner blamed the Author had he neglected any Argument to his Purpose, for so bad a Reason as that so good a Writer as Sir *John Davies* had made Use of it before him; who was himself not, certainly, the first that did so.

The Hints that happen to be much alike in the two Poems are, indeed, no other than what might very well be thought on by different Persons, intent upon so similar a Subject; but if not,—*that* Objection must be exceeding frivolous which is built upon a Supposition, that a good Thing ought never to be said but once.

The Subject will be Excuse sufficient for adding here, the final Stanza of the Attorney-General's *Nosce Teipsum*:

*Cast down thyself, and only strive to raise  
The Glory of thy Maker's sacred Name:  
Use all thy Pow'rs this Bless'd Pow'r to praise,  
Which gives thee Pow'r to be, and use the same!*

Would any sensible Reader ever blame a Poem, suitable to such an excellent Conclusion, for ending with the same just Thought in either different Language or different Verse,—for example, in some such Manner as the following:

*Subjice te cunctis; et sit tuus Ille Creator,  
Cui debetur honos, tua gloria; dotibus Ille  
Te decorat, quascunque tenes; ergo utere donis,  
Perpetuasque Deo Soli meditare laudes!*  
Humble thyself, and only strive to raise  
True, sacred Glory — thy Creator's Praise:  
What Pow'rs thou hast, He gave them to be thine;  
Use well the Gift,—and bless the Pow'r Divine!

To return to the present Translation.—The Endeavour has been to keep as closely to the original *Latin*, as a Translation of such a Kind and the *Licentie* belonging fairly to it could well admit; that is, to the *Sense* of it; for in this Design the different Idioms of Language forbid the Servility of Adherence to Words or Phrases whenever the Correspondence would evidently be less poetical.

Two Passages (I recollect but two) must be excepted; where an unsought-for

Difference in the Turn of Thought presenting itself has happened to be further indulged, without interrupting the Progress of occurring Rimes by any Hesitation, whether it was justifiable or not.

And of this or any other incidental Matter nothing is here said; because the Translation is designedly submitted, with all its unpalliated Defects, to public Censure, and to stand or fall by it without Appeal.

A comparing of it with the Original may discover some Reasons for occasional Variation, some Mistakes of Inattention and, if the Reader pleases, some Amendments. But this, tho' the fairest thing to ask and the easiest to make, is not at all insisted on: If the candid *English Reader* does not like it, it is given up; for, were it never so good a Thing in the *Latin*, if in the *English* it should appear to be a bad one, there will no Claim be laid to the Benefit of his Candour, whilst upon the whole his Judgment is displeased.

In a Word,—pleased or displeased, is but a secondary Consideration. He is by no Means obliged to like or to dislike the *Verses*; but, in Justice to his own Soul, he is obliged to like a *Subject* so worthy of his *better thoughts* as that of its IMMORTALITY.

THE  
IMMORTALITY  
OF THE  
SOUL.

BOOK THE FIRST.

BRUTE *Creatures* upon Earth enjoy the Store  
That Nature yields, and never seek for more.  
Sagacious *Man*, with huge Desire to know  
Whence Things, their Causes and Connexions flow,  
Takes a *vain* Course;—*Death* with black Wing is near,  
And stops him in the *Midst* of his *Career*.

Why this, if God created naught *in vain*?  
Why should the Mind the *Seeds* of Heav'n contain,  
Not to produce the *Fruit*? What Profit brings  
To search, to *understand* the Cause of Things,—10  
Thro' all *below*, thro' all *above*, the Sky,  
Sun, Moon, and Stars, to penetrate,—and *die*?

If Death be *all* that follows Life's *Parade*,  
 Better to fool with *Phyllis* in the Shade;  
 To take the jovial *Glass*, the merry *Dance*;  
 To banish *Care*—and trust ourselves to *Chance*!  
 All Sense of *Past*, all Fear of *future*, Day  
 Let Wine, Diversions, Banquets drive away;  
 Let *Cloë* sing, *Neæra* touch the Lyre,—  
 Snatch *present* Joys, nor what's to come enquire! 20

In vain, alas, the Precept to enjoy;  
 Scarce do we *taste* the Pleasures, but they *clōy*.  
 Let Trifles, then, be seriously dismiss'd;  
 Have *Wealth* as great, or *glory* as you list,—  
*Ambition* prosperous as it can be,—  
 Surrounding Crowds attend at your *Levee*,—  
 What *more* you please:—'tis all but *one same* Call  
 To cry: "Alas! *What Vanity 'tis all!*"

Where must we *go* then? To what friendly Shore?  
 So, pent in Bodies, *Minds* would *fain* explore 30  
 Where Truth's *eternal* Mansions may be found,  
*Whither* (so Nature tells them) they are *bound*.  
 Mind was not made for *transitory* Joys,  
 But Bliss *congenial* that no *Change* destroys,—  
 Bliss, like *itself*, for ever to endure.  
 Take *Courage* then—the Works of God are *sure*,  
 Nor wrought *in vain*; nor shall the Limits bind  
 Of this corporeal mortal Clay the *Mind*!  
 Clear *she* shall flourish from terrestrial Stain,—  
 For ever flourish, free'd from ev'ry Chain; 40  
 Her kindred *Heav'n* th' *old Native* shall review,  
 And drink of Truth's eternal Spring anew,—

14. *Better to fool with PHYLLIS in the Shade.* Cf. *Lycidas*, v. 68: "To sport with Armaryllis in the shade." *Phyllis* and Armaryllis are the names given by Spenser in *Colin Clout's Come Home Again* to two of the fair sisters celebrated by him; so that we have here a palpable instance of Milton's "imitation of the moderns."

Whilst here on Earth the things that we behold,  
All in the *same* revolving Circle roll'd,  
Tell not the Mind that looks for *ampler* Dues ;  
The sacred *Bard* presents sublimer Views,—  
A *fairer* Scene, of ev'ry Wish the Sum,—  
The *Hope*, the *Presage* of a *Life to come*.

If skill'd celestial Motions how to solve,  
How the *huge* Planets round the *Sun* revolve,— 80  
Thro' the vast *Void* to trace the *Comet's* Line,  
When *other Suns* on other Planets shine,—  
Is not this high, this Heav'n-pervading Mind  
Come down from *Heav'n*, from *Heav'n again* design'd ?

Plain, in these Efforts of the Mind to see  
A Force *innate*, from Dregs *material* free ;  
*Self-conscious* Will too, Love and Hatred shown,  
Fear, Hope, Joy, Grief, are plainly all *her own*,—  
No *lumpish* Properties ; she can compare  
Or sep'rate things by merely *mental* Care ; 90  
Can gather *distant* Truths and reunite  
The scatter'd Portions in *one* friendly Light :  
Draw hence the *Cause* of Things and the *Design*,  
And in fair Order Arts with Arts combine,  
More near to Truth *still* rising and more near,  
Till the whole causal *Series* appear.  
The *Chain* descending from th' Almighty's Throne,  
From Heav'n to Earth—*Ideas*, too, *her own*—  
She can inspect, and inward Notice take  
Whence, how, they rise—and almost *know* her *Make*. 100

Is Pow'r *corporeal* such ? *Machines*, do they  
Know their own *Strength*, or on what *Food* to prey ?

93. *The Design*. The connected plan. Cf. *ante*, i. 190, *note*.

For Body is but *mere* Machine alone,  
Mov'd by *external* Impulse—not *its own*.

Judge not by *vulgar* Men the noble Mind,  
But such as *Worth* to future *Praise* consign'd ;  
As *Rome* or *Greece*,—ev'n *now* illustrious dead—  
Or *England*, unsurpass'd by *either*, bred ;—  
The Nurse of *Heroes*, in her *better Times*,  
What *Bards* have blest her with diviner *Rimes* ; 110  
With *Laws* what *Sages* ; how many renown'd  
For *Eloquence*, for *Science*, has she found,  
Tho' brought to Light by Culture late begun ;  
When *Bacon*, rising like th' ethereal Sun,  
First taught the Path of Arts,—first made appear  
*Philosophy* from idle *Figments* clear ;  
And tracing Step by Step the faithful Ray,  
Where the *sure* Guide *Experience* led the Way,  
To *Newton*, born her Treasures to command,  
He show'd the *Track* and gave the *Torch* in Hand ! 120

Illustrious Souls ! May your Example move  
*Britannia's* Sons still further to improve ;  
To *high* Attempts th' awaken'd Mind to raise,  
And by true *Virtue* merit ancient *Praise* !

Not without *Heav'n*, with Genius so sublime,  
Could Man be *born* ;—but God, in ev'ry Time,  
Has here and there, like *Stars* amidst the *Night*,  
Besprinkl'd *Minds* of more *Resplendent* Light ;  
That a *degen'rate Age* might catch the Flame  
And own from what *High* Origin *Man* came. 130

106 Such as WORTH.—MS. Such *Worth*.

112. For ELOQUENCE—*for* SCIENCE. Translation from which the present re-  
A MS. annotator of the copy of this print is made, suggests "Numbers too."

Besides, a *Something* for us is confest,  
 When we are dead, in ev'ry conscious Breast ;  
 'Tis shown *within* 'tis ancient *Learning's* Thought ;  
 'Tis *public* Voice—no Nation so *untaught*  
 As all beyond the Grave to disregard !  
 Hence *Oaks*, slow-growing, posthumous Reward,  
 Are sown for *Grandsons'* Profit ; hence appears  
 The *Pyramid* that braves the *gazing* Years ;  
 Hence all the Care about a living *Name*,  
 When *Men* are dead ; so valued future Fame, 140  
 That who *excels* in any Thing will run  
 Thro' ev'ry Danger, no Fatigue will shun,  
 If *only* some fair *Prospect* of Renown  
 Flatter, from Age to Age descending down !  
 Do not we see that *Convicts*, doom'd to die,  
*Confess* their Guilt, sometimes perhaps deny  
 At *instant* Death—why *willing*, or why *loth* ?  
 The Future only can account for both ;  
 While *Penitents* discern, and dread the Lot,  
 The *harden'd* Rogue has all but *Fame* forgot : 150  
 'Tis *Nature's Instinct*, or obscure or plain,  
 Of *more* than *Dust* and *Ashes* to remain !

Why about *Funerals* such anxious Care  
 What means of *Tombs* the *operose* *Affair* ?  
 Some lay the bloodless Carcass in the Ground,  
 And deck the Grove with *Flow'rs*, each annual Round  
 Renewing *Rites* that *Ashes* scarce require,—  
 Some rear the Pile, and burn it in the Fire ;  
 Then place the *Relics* of the Friend they burn  
 To last for Ages in the *faithful* Urn. 160

154. Of TOMBS the OPEROSE AFFAIR. *crum fac'ret operosius quam quod decem*  
 Cf. Cic. de Legg., ii. 26 : " ne quis sepul- homines fecerint triduo."

Where *Nile's* rich Flood the fertile Grounds o'erflow'd,  
 Neither to *burn* nor *bury* was the Mode.  
 They fill'd th' unbowell'd Chest and emptied Scull  
 With thick, *bituminous* Confection full ;  
 In *spicy* Pitch when thus *embalm'd* they roll'd  
 The Corpse with close drawn *Fillets*, many a Fold ;  
 Preserv'd the *Shape*, or what they *could* at least,  
 And on the Surface *pictur'd* the Deceas'd.  
 Such *inbred* Hope and Trust in Men alive,  
 That *something* after Death is to *survive* ; 170  
 One *Truth* exprest by ev'ry outward Art :  
 Nor *Time*, nor *Fate*, can *kill* our *better* Part.

See in the Realms where *Indian Ganges* rolls  
 A Race of Men with too too *eager* Souls,  
 Of Life *impatient*, rush into the Fire,  
 Or at their Idol Shrines from *Life* retire.  
 Tho' blind, to *Hopes* of quiet Seats they run  
 Of Spring perpetual and unclouded Sun.

Not less renown'd in Fame, the *Eastern Wives*  
 To their *dead Husbands* sacrifice their Lives. 180  
*Their* Loss no *womanish* Complaint proclaims ;  
 They mount the Pile, and *join* them in the *Flames* :  
 Each hopes, *Companion* to her dear-lov'd Spouse  
 In other Regions to *renew* her *Vows*.

See in the *North* with equal Ardour glow  
 Unconquer'd Nations in eternal Snow ;  
 Whom, with untam'd *Contempt* of *Living* fierce,  
 Nor Foe can vanquish nor can War coerce !  
 They *love* their *Country*,—Love's *Reward* their Aim,  
 Thro' Fires and Swords they push the *patriot* claim. 190

Add what old Times of Fields *Elysian* spake,  
Of *Phlegethontic* Wave and *Stygian* Lake,—  
*Fictions of Priestly Fraud*—be that the Case ;  
'Twas *inbred Notice* that gave Fraud a *Place* ;  
Sure of the Future tho' *imperfect* View,  
All Fiction builds on *Something* that is *true*.

Because 'tis difficult to think of Mind  
From Body and from *grosser* Sense disjoin'd,  
Corporeal Form to it the *Vulgar* give,  
And Looks, and Limbs, and Place wherein to live,— 200  
To *wonted* Likeness fashioning their Schemes ;  
Which others holding for delirious Dreams,  
(The *How* not known of its surviving state)  
Deem it extinguish'd by one *common* Fate,—  
Or that they care not for much Cost of *Thought*,  
Or shame to *own* their *Ignorance* of aught !  
If true from false not easy to discern,  
Shake off all *Sloth* then, nor refuse to learn,  
For any *Tales* that *Fraud* has interspers'd  
Or some vain *Poets* petulantly vers'd ! 210

What ! Is not God's *Existence* own'd by all,—  
*Consent*, which rightly *Nature's Voice* they call ?  
And yet, what false unworthy Notions fram'd,—  
Sex, Passions, Vices ; Gods a *Number* nam'd ;  
Scarce any Object of their *Hopes* or *Fears*  
But what Men *deified* in former years !  
Such as they *lik'd* for Gods *propitious* pass'd,  
*Sinistrous* else ; till Madness, at the last,

192. *PHLEGETHONTIC Wave, and STYGIAN Lake.* The "*Tartareus Phlegethon*" and "*Stygia palus*" of *Verg. Æn.*, bk. vi.  
218. *Sinistrous.* Unfavourable, unfortunate. Curiously enough, in religious terminology, "sinister" or "left-side" which to the Greeks meant "ill-omened," meant "well-omened" to the Romans.

With *reptile* Deities their Temples stor'd,  
And even *Leeks* and *Onions* were ador'd. 220

Pond'ring these *Ills*, the great *Athenian* Sage  
Foretold *His* Coming in the *destin'd* Age,  
(*He came, desir'd ; the Nations, since He came,*  
*The Help and Advent of a God proclaim*)  
Whose *Divine* Light should give dark Minds the *Day*  
Guide them to *Truth* and mark the *certain* Way.

Meanwhile, full many Signs of Truth to Sight  
Had *Nature* shown, tho' through obscurer Light.  
Let us then, see how far *Conjectures* rise,  
Nor *Reasons* Help, if it can *give*, despise ! 230

Body and Mind agree, I don't deny,  
In *many* Things—it is their mutual *Tie* :  
But Mind in *many* differs, that define  
Her *Nature* different and her *Race* Divine.

We often see to *Body* firm and strong,  
Healthy, robust, a *feeble* *Mind* belong ;

219, 220. With *reptile* Deities their Temples stor'd,

And even *Leeks* and *Onions* were ador'd.  
The former allusion may be to the *oikouphs* *δφis*, under which symbol of the fertile soil its genius Erichthonius was worshipped in the Acropolis. Cf. Preller, *Griechische Mythologie* (2nd edn., 1860), i. 159, and *note*. It, however, more probably refers to the snake-worship of the Egyptians, who are also said by Pliny to have "treated garlic and onions as Gods," when taking an oath. Cf. *Juv. Sat.* xv. 9–11. See Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson's *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, 2nd Ser., II. 243, 264. Considering that the Egyptians rigorously abstained from eating the animals

or vegetables venerated by them, Dryden was guilty of a two-fold audacity in his well-known lines, *Absalom and Achitophel*, Part I. vv. 118–9 :

"Th' Egyptian rites the Jebusites  
embrac'd,

Where Gods were recommended by  
their taste."

221. *The great* *ATHENIAN* *Sage*  
*Foretold* *HIS* *Coming*.

Socrates, according to St. Augustine "the philosopher of the Christian faith." (See Donaldson's chapter on the early antagonism of Christian and Pagan learning in his Continuation of K. O. Müller's *History of the Literature of Ancient Greece*, vol. iii. c. xviii.)

To weak, full oft *one* of surprising *Force* ;  
If Death together kill them *both*, of Course  
They *both* should *sicken* in the same Degree,—  
Reverse *again* of what we often see ; 240  
That, when *Death* comes, the *cold* approaching Hour  
Sharpens the Mind and *warms* with *entheous* Pow'r.  
What Eloquence have *dying* Men, what Fire !  
They speak *prophetic* Words—and then *expire*.

If Mind like Body *elemental*, whence,  
Tho' *Sleep* shut up the *Inlets* of all *Sense*,  
Without *external* Objects can the Mind  
On *inward* Scenes expatiate unconfined ;  
Just as a Bird, *uncag'd*, takes Wing to fly,  
Mounts upward and *exults* in open Sky ? 250

Mind of *corporeal* Nature, it is plain,  
Must *Parts* in Number *infinite* contain,  
Each *one* of which will have its Sense and Soul,  
And *many* diff'rent Minds distract the *Whole*.  
In *such* a System, grant it to *exist*,  
Say how can *Truth* and *Equity* subsist,—  
How Life's *one* Tenor in the jarring Host,  
And this same *conscious* *Virtue* that we boast ?

Perhaps this Mind, this Matter's Force *occult*,  
May from its *Figure* and its *Site* result ? 260  
As if the *Square* was wiser than the *Round* !  
Parts you may add, diminish, or compound ;  
But *Site*, and *Figure*, for the mental Track  
No more accounts than Colour, white or black.

Motion may do't—what will not *Motion* do ?  
Yes—Reason, Speech, and Will, and Wisdom too,

242. ENTHEOUS *Pow'r*. Power of en- p. 188 : "To make religious Entheasm a  
thusiasm. Cf. *Enthusiasm*, l. 196, *ante*, Crime."

Is all but *Rope* and *Pulley*—proper Size,—  
 And *last*, his Top, the Lad will make it *wise* !  
 So will the *Liquor*, boiling in the *Pot*,  
 With flowing *Eloquence* grow *richly hot*. 270  
 But whence comes *Motion* ? Mind is the *one* Thing,  
 Not *passive* Body, that is Motion's Spring :  
 As *God* the World, so its corporeal Frame  
*Mind* agitates, and inward moving *Aim*.

Cease then to *wonder*, when the Body's gone,  
 That *living* Mind continues to *live on* !  
 What *Death*, I rather wonder, with what *Darts*,  
 Can e'er *destroy* it, since it has no Parts ?  
 It cannot perish by *external Blow* ;  
 It is the *Mover of itself*, we know ; 280  
 And that which Motion to itself can give,  
*Leaves* not itself—it must for ever *live*.

But who can well conceive a Thing to *be*,  
 From certain *Shape* and *Situation* free ?  
 What then is *Deity* ? The Mind Divine,  
 Far as we know, no Figure can confine  
 Or Place contain,—unless you will suppose  
 That God Himself is *Matter* ;—if He knows,  
 Pure Simple *Spirit*, Grossness of no Kind,  
 No more does *God's* fair *Image*, human *Mind*. 290  
 Mark its *Self-Pollency* ; what greater Sign  
 Of Breath Ethereal, Progeny Divine ?  
 Ev'n here, while *tether'd* to this *mortal* Shape,  
 Oft, on the Stretch, it *meditates Escape* ;  
 Like a *strange* Guest on Earth, from foreign Ties  
 Springs up and longs to reach its *native Skies*.

291. *Self-Pollency*. Self-dependence, strength (*pollentia* from *polleo*) in and through itself.

*The Immortality of the Soul.*

555

Go now, admire a World of *fading* Things ;  
Fly, *busy Insect*, with thy gilded Wings ;  
Feed on its Dews and flutter in its Air ;  
Soon to be *Nothing*, of aught *else* despair ! 300  
Is this the *whole* of *Life*,—thus void of Hope,  
Of all its flatt'ring Promise *this* the *Scope* ?  
How much more real that, *that* Life of Man,  
Where truth *at once* discovers *all* its Plan ;  
Not by Degrees, thro' *long* Deductions drawn,  
Clear *Intuition* sees the cloudless Dawn !

You'll say, perhaps, that Mind to *Body* link'd  
Cannot perceive when *Senses* are extinct ;  
With *them* it grows, and ceases when *they* cease ;—  
How then gives Mind to *Senses* an *Increase* ? 310  
For their Defect by Help of *Art* it clears ;  
And *Eyes* to *Eyes* it adds, and *Ears* to *Ears*.

Hence, higher rais'd than *human* Lot's Purlieu,  
It calls the *Stars* of Heav'n to *nearer* View ;  
Great *Earth's* hid Treasures mast'ring, it describes,  
And pores in Systems too *minute* for *Eyes* ;  
New Worlds of Wonder Wit brings forth to Light,  
And mends the Seeing with *superior* Sight ;  
Of Form, and Bulk, and Distance it decides,  
And judges *rightly*, where the Sense *misguides*. 320  
Shows not all this a Pow'r from *Sense* sejunct,—  
Ethereal Science ? *Body* then defunct,  
These short Excursions indicate the *Mind*,  
For more unbounded Range of Truth design'd.

How will it be ?—*That Knowledge* is to come,  
No *Part* of *ours* ; the Life within the Womb,

Know you *what 'twas*? Knows he that was born blind  
 Delights of *Colour*?—No; but he can find  
 That *others* know them, tho' himself does *not*.  
 So knows the *Mind* in this her present Lot, 330  
 Amidst the Scenes *unequal* to *her* Care,  
 That some unknown, *eternal* Forms, and *fair*,  
 Are shown to Minds more vig'rous and sublime;  
 To these she gives her Wishes, and her Time.  
*Fine Beauty's* Absence, absent, she deplores,  
 And smit with secret, conscious *Love* adores;  
 Shuns human Haunts and seeks the silent Wood,  
 To meditate *alone* th' *Eternal* Good;  
 To sooth her Cares with *Thought* of future Things  
 And *Verse*, to make them *present* while she sings. 340

That Man I reckon to have liv'd *indeed*,  
 Who having seen how all Things *here* proceed,  
 With *equal* Mind and constantly *good* Aim  
 Returns, *contented* Guest, to whence he came.  
 Whether you count an *hundred* Years or *few*,  
 The same *old* Scenes come round and round anew.  
 The *World* has nothing *better* to bestow;  
 Deem then this transitory State below  
 A public Market or a Spacious Inn;  
 Where for a while when *floating* Life has been 350  
 With Cares and Trifles *tost* of ev'ry Sort,  
 Who leaves it first, is *first* got into *Port*!  
 Haste *thither* then; *contract* the daring Sail;  
 Steer into *Harbour*, lest Provisions fail;  
 Haste! The *Disease*, the *Death* of the dear *Friend*,  
 Th' infirm *old Age*,—what Ills on *Life* attend!

Where do I run? We *must* and *ought* to stay,  
 Till *He* Who plac'd us *here*, call *hence* away.  
 Thro' Hopes, thro' Fears, *this* Leader we can trust;  
*He* bids us bear—and therefore *bear* we *must*. 360



But, were I *sure* that *this poor* Life was *all*,  
*My* eager Wish would be a *sudden* Call  
To go where sooner, later, from the *Stage*  
All *Actors* drop,—to sleep an endless Age.  
Nay, *Youth* renew'd, if it were giv'n to choose,  
Or cradl'd *Infancy*, I would *refuse*.

Not all the Blessings of *the Life*, not Health,  
Wit, Elocution, Prudence, Manners, Wealth,  
Unenvied Honour, num'rous Issue, known  
Both by their *Fathers* Virtues and *their own* ;—

370

Not for *all this* Reward would *I* compound  
To run *again* a Race of *mortal* Round !  
The *Mind's* Expectance just as well as high  
Nothing can equal ;—that can *never die*.

## LATIN VERSE.

## I.

## AN INTIMATION OF IMMORTALITY.

[See Byrom's *Diary*, Sunday, May 23rd, 1725: "Stayed at home all day, made the following verses." (*Remains*, i. 141.) I may have gone too far in suggesting by the superscription which I have given to these lines that they have any thought in common with Wordsworth's great *Ode*; but at all events the idea which prompted them is much less trite than that of Byrom's English epigram on *Time past, future and present* (*ante*, vol. I. p. 567). The Latinity and versification are, however, inelegant in the extreme.]

*TEMPORA dum facile Sapiens elapsa revolvit,  
 Et simul immotâ mente futura capit,  
 Gaudia quæ peperit pietas ea percipit usque  
 Et quæ partura est spe capit usque suâ.  
 Nam, bene quæ fecit mens aut factura sit, adsunt,  
 Et videt hic felix quod fuit, est, et erit.  
 Ergo habet æternæ plus quam præsentia vitæ  
 Unum cui Nunc sunt esse, fuisse, fore.  
 Or, Nonne hæc æternæ plus quam præsentia vitæ,  
 Unum si Nunc siat esse, fuisse, fore.*

## II.

## LAUDES ANTONIETTÆ.

[Perhaps neither the distichs nor the sapphics parodying Hor. *Od.* I. xxii. which follow, and which are written in longhand in fol. 30 of the *MS.* reprinted in an Appendix to the present volume, ought to have been reproduced here. For it cannot in conscience be regarded as

honouring Byrom's memory to print some very poor Latin verses never intended by him for publication. My excuse must be that these particular verses serve to emphasise the fact of Byrom's enthusiastic pre-occupation with the writings and character of Antoinette Bourignon. (Cf. *Introductory Note, ante*, pp. 65 *seqq.* I add to this note an interesting extract from John Wesley's *Journal*, February 14th, 1774 (edn. 1879, 4 vols.), with which I have been favoured by Mr. Francis M. Jackson: "In my way to Dorking, I gave another reading to 'the Life of Anna Maria Schurman:' perhaps a woman of the strongest understanding that the world ever saw. And she was deeply devoted to God. So was also Antoinette Bourignon, nearly her equal in sense, though not in learning; and equally devoted to God. In many things there was a surprising resemblance between them, particularly in severity of temper, leading them to separate from all the world, whom they seemed to give up to the devil without remorse: only with this difference,—Madame Bourignon believed there were absolutely no children of God, but her and her three or four associates: Anna Schurman believed there were almost none, but her and her little community. No wonder that the world returned their love, by persecuting them in every country.") When in September, 1731, Byrom was enquiring from John Stansfield for further information concerning Mdle. Bourignon, he wrote: "I grow so passionately in love with her that there may be need to check me a little, and I can bear it best from a friend that knows somewhat of her." (*Chetham Library MS.*)—It seems absurd to print one or two "various readings" in these more or less tentative efforts, at the close of which Byrom has entered a number of mere odds and ends of verses. Opposite the first of the sapphics is written in the margin: "Servant of God, well done!"—The "Petrus" apostrophised in vv. 4 and 15 of the Sapphics may be fairly surmised to be Byrom's intimate friend Ralph Leycester, *alias* "Sir Peter." (Cf. *Introductory Note, ante*, vol. I. p. 30.)]

*Q*UID memoras Nomen Sacrum, si parvula Christi  
 Displicet et vivum spernis evangelium?  
 Nam tibi dant voces et inania verba salutem  
 Damnabitque Deus virginis acta piæ.

*Immo, ita fert mundus, coëunt[?] ita Roma, Geneva ;  
 Et Te Qui sacer es Iudice sancta perit !  
 Heu pietas ! Heu prisca fides ! lacrimabile fatum !  
 Magna loqui fas est, vivere magna nefas.  
 Quos caro, quos mundus, quos dæmon commovet hostes,  
 Stat contra opponens Antonietta Crucem ;                    10  
 Ignea constanti torquet de pectore tela,  
 Et Stygia infractâ sustinet arma fide.*

---

*I*NTÉGER vitæ scelerisque purus  
 Non eget docti studiis nec arte,  
 Nec venenatis gravidè loquelis,  
 Petre, Minervâ ;

*Sive per Syrtes iter Antichristi,  
 Sive facturus per inhospitalem  
 Hæresin vel quæ loca fabulosum  
 Schisma pererrat.*

\* \* \* *lanam lupus hic ovinam,  
 Dum meam laudo Antoniettam et ultra                    10  
 Terminos verbis vagor expeditus,  
 Fugit honestum.*

*Quale portentum neque Jesuitæ  
 Roma nec clausas alit inter ædes,  
 Petre, nec tellus tua persequentium  
 Horrida nutrix.*

---

9. I can only dimly guess at the sense "gerens" or "gereris;" the Horatian of this line, and of line 12 in connexion "namque me" is written above it but with it. The first word of v. 9 reads like crossed through.

*Antonietta infans Christum quadrimula poscit  
 Et consanguineos sentit obesse suis.  
 Claustra petit, &c.*

---

## III.

*IMITATIO CHRISTI.*

[The following distich is written on fol. 100 of the *Chetham Library MS.* after an undated Diary entry, apparently belonging to June, 1731(?): "Mr. Townsend called on me. I writ in his Kempis." Byrom's interest in Thomas a Kempis and the controversy as to the authorship of the *Imitatio Christi* is illustrated by another passage in the same *MS.*, where he is taking notes from Nicholas de Cusa (Cusanus). His Library contains, together with a large variety of editions of the *Imitatio*, several copies of the works of Thomas a Kempis (*Catalogue*, pp. 214-5); "*Animadversiones in Vindicias Kempenses a R. P. [Fronteau] Canon. Reg. adv. Delfau*" (Paris, 1677), a publication in favour of the claims of Johannes Gerson (*ib.*, p. 116); copies of the *Imitatio* with the name as author of "Joannes Gersen Abbas Vercellensis," and others (including a 16mo of 1487) with that of "Joannes Gerson, Cancellarius Parisiensis" (*ib.*, p. 92).

The question "Thomas or John?" (which is not the only question which has been put as to the authorship of the *Imitatio*) can hardly be said to have been set entirely at rest. But the balance of learned opinion seems to incline very decidedly in favour of the Canon of St. Agnes near Zwolle, a servant of God trained among the Brethren of the Common Life, of whose spirit the book contains the very essence. It was doubtless owing to his obscurity that his claims were so long postponed to the very unconvincing pretensions brought forward on behalf of the famous Chancellor.]

*NIL moror an Thomas exscripserit anne Joannes;  
 Sanctus enim verè Spiritus auctor erat.*

---

## IV.

*KNOWING AND DOING.*

[The following lines are entered in the *Chetham Library MS.* immediately after those printed above, with the prefatory line: "And now from a passage in Mrs. B[ourignon's] letter to [Rewboth?] p. 86." It is useless to speculate on the meaning of the word which the transcriber of the *MS.* was unable to decipher. The sentiment of Byrom's verses corresponds to that of Mdlle. Bourignon's letter, printed pp. 82-90, which is addressed to an intimate friend, who after learning to love "the Divine Wisdom," was diverted from following it by listening too much to the "Wise Divines of this Age." To this may refer the line which is written in the *MS.* above the distichs ensuing, and in which the word "*mensa*" seems to signify "bank" = "securities of this world:"]

*"Custodite animos et nulli credite mensa."*]

---

*SI* CHRISTI *mandata sequi non possumus, eheu!*  
*Crudelis veritas, te latuisse velim!*  
*Nam cuicumque Patris fuerit patefacta Voluntas,*  
*Hanc si non faciat, verbera plura feret.*  
*Atqui possibile est, pateant modo pectora jussis,*  
*Cætera præbebit, Qui dedit illa, Deus.*

5. *Atqui possibile est.* Over these words "*Non deerunt vires.*" Evidently (see l. 2) in the *MS.* is written as a *varia lectio*: these lines were written very hastily.

## V.

## THY WILL BE DONE!

[The following lines are written on fol. 112 of the *Chetham Library MS.*, immediately after an entry dated Friday morning, August 31st,

1731: "'A reasonable sacrifice'—query, whether it means a sacrifice of Reason (to God). Poiret of *Faith*, p. 72, according to ads. and subs. [accidents and substance?] a good man."

Poiret's *Fides et Ratio collatæ adversus Principia J. Lockii, cum acc. De Fide implicita* (12mo, Amsterdam, 1708) is in Byrom's Library. (See *Catalogue*, p. 179.) Perhaps the passage which he had been reading is that occurring in *Thesis* ii., pp. 61–62 (not 72): "*Adeo ut omnino necessarium sit, pessimam illam in nobis causam et omnium malorum unicam, sed (pro dolor) fecundissimam radicem, applicationem dico facultatum nostrarum superiorum ad ullam creaturam, penitus, in totum et realiter tollere per positionem contrarii, contrahendo eas omnes facultates ab omni creatura collocandoque easdem vere et re ipsa et plane et constanter in Deum solum,*" &c.

Of Pierre Poiret, the editor of Mme. Guyon's writings, an account will be found among the *Select Lives of Foreigners eminent in Piety*, printed at Bristol in 1773 as a sort of appendix to vol. ii. of the English Translation of *The Life of Lady Guion*.]

*EX imo inferni supero de culmine cœli  
Fiat in æternum, Maxime, Velle Tuum !  
Quicquid agam, quicquid patiar, Pater Optime, in omni  
Re mihi sit primum mobile Velle Tuum !*

## VI.

### THE HUMAN WILL.

[The following distich is written on fol. 112 of the *Chetham Library MS.* after an entry, dated August 21st, 1731: "*Credo, confido, veneror . . . adero.*"]

*FONS et Origo boni Deus est ; humana voluntas  
Non submissa Deo fons et origo mali.*

## VII.

## THE LORD'S PRAYER.

[This metrical version of the Lord's Prayer is written on fol. 117 of the *Chetham Library MS.*, after a curious entry dated August 29th, 1731 : "After sermon, evening, reading Barcklay [*sic*], p. 390."

There are two copies of Barclay's *Argenis*, as well as a copy of the *Satyricon*, in Byrom's Library (see *Catalogue*, p. 16). I cannot guess the passage which he may have been reading ; "p. 390" seems an incorrect number.

Barclay's famous allegorical romance long retained a popularity to which the fluency of its Latin style no doubt contributed ; but it is difficult to suppose that it will again charm as it continued to do in Byrom's earlier days. A copy of the book was lying by Leibniz's side, when he was found dead. According to Hallam, Coleridge was an ardent admirer of the language of the *Argenis*.]

*C*ÆLESTIS Genitor, Nomen Tibi sanctificetur !  
 Adveniat Regnum ; fiat Tua Sancta Voluntas,  
 In terrâ velut in cælo ! Tu quotidianam  
 Da nobis panem ; peccataque nostra remitte,  
 Sicut nos fratrum peccata remittimus ; ac nos  
 Nulla sinas unquam tentare pericla salutis ;  
 Sed procul a nobis tollas genus omne malorum !  
 Namque Tuum est Regnum ; Tua namque est Sola Potestas,  
 Gloriaque in æternum. Dicat vox quælibet : "Amen !"

## VIII.

## HAPPINESS IN SUBMISSION TO THE DIVINE WILL.

[The following lines are written on fol. 122 of the *Chetham Library MS.*, after an entry dated September 3rd, 1730 [query 1731?] : "At Mr.

Lloyd's ; talking about Mad. Bourignon ; Pritchard wished her hanged, &c. ; Pritchard's system of enjoying [himself]. I repeated [the two distichs]."

As to Antoinette Bourignon, and the condemnations poured forth upon her writings, cf. *ante*, No. II., and *Introductory Note, ante*, pp. 65 *seqq.* I do not know anything more about the zealous Pritchard, whose saying about Madlle. Bourignon reminds one of that of a late venerable Cambridge Head: "In the good old days of the Church Dr. D—— would have been burnt behind Great St. Mary's."]

*N*ULLÂ tu poteris fieri felicior arte  
*Nec res ulla tibi suavior esse potest,*  
*Quam si concipias, quod vult Divina Voluntas,*  
*Id tibi pro summo semper adesse bono.*

---

IX.

LITTLE FAITH.

[The following lines are written on fol. 123 of the *Chetham Library MS.*, beneath a *Diary* entry dated September 6th, 1731.]

*E*T perhibent maculas etiam ipso in Sole repertas ;  
*Numquid Lux oculis displicet ergo tuis ?*

---

X.

GNOMIC PHILOSOPHY.

[The following hexameters, for the most part unconnected in sense with one another, are written in longhand on fol. 131 of the *Chetham*

*Library MS.*, beneath the entry: "Saturday, Library. St<sup>i</sup> Columban<sup>i</sup> Monasticon, D. 4, 11, p. 684." It seemed hardly necessary to cite parallel passages suggested by some of these lines.]

*Non te, non mundum, sed CHRISTUM dilige solum !*

*Nil oculi prosunt quibus est mens cæca videndi.*

*Tantum verba valent quantum mens sentiat illa.*

*Sit tibi carus homo ut frater, Deus ut Pater Almus !*

*Quod tibi vis fieri, hoc aliis præstare memento !*

*Quod tibi non optas, alii nec feceris ulli !*

*Vulnera dum sanas, dolor est medicina doloris.*

*Sunt mala majorum medicamina certa malorum.*

*Contra verbosos noli contendere verbis !*

*Sermo datur multis, animi sapientia paucis.*

*Proximus esto bonis, si non potes optimus esse !*

*Quæ culpæ soles, hæc tu non feceris ipse !*

*Tempora dum variant, animus sit semper honestus !*

*Semper avarus eget, nec habet quæ habere videtur.*

---

# XI.

## SELF-SURRENDER TO GOD.

[The following lines are written in longhand on fol. 138 of the *Chetham Library MS.*, where they follow upon a Diary entry dated Fry. (Friday ?) 7<sup>r</sup> (September) 1731.]

*NON quod ego insipiens cupiam, sed in omnibus illud  
Quod Tua vult Bonitas rebus inesse volo.  
Nos nihili sumus, at Dominus Deus omnia nobis,  
Quando creaturis Ipse Creator adest.  
Vita Patris donum ; Geniti sapientia Verbi ;  
Spiritus Sancto consociatur amor.  
Audi, Summe Deus, Tua quæ factura precatur ;  
Supra me positum da mihi velle bonum.  
Vivere me video, sed non video esse beatum,  
Quum tamen id fieri Te voluisse puto.  
Deficio, nisi me Qui feceris Ipse beatum  
Feceris Auctor opus perfice magne Tuum !  
Suppleat invalido Tua Magna Potentia Virens ;  
Te sine nil possum, Tu mea sola fides.  
Jam nunc ex animo Tibi me meaque omnia trado,  
Tu mihi Te tradas, jamque beatus ero !*

10

9. This line is crossed out in the *MS.*, had first written in the *MS.*, "*Omnipotens* and the following inferior line written *Clementia.*"  
above it :  
"Sentio viventem; felicem haud sentio factum."  
13. For "*Tua Magno Potentia*" Byrom
16. The words "*Tu mihi Te tradas*" are written in the *MS.* over the words "*Adsis et tradenti,*" without the latter having been crossed out.



# APPENDICES.



## APPENDIX I.

A PARAPHRASE OF *Hebrews I. 1-3.*

[I am now enabled by the kindness of Mr. C. W. Sutton, the Chief Librarian of the Manchester Free Library and the Hon. Secretary of the Chetham Society, to reprint the paraphrase of the first chapter of the *Epistle to the Hebrews* referred to in my *Introductory Note to Christians, awake, ante*, pp. 19-20. A copy of the broadside mentioned by the late Mr. J. E. Bailey is preserved in the Free Library. It bears the superscription "*Two Hymns for Christmas Day*," beneath which is engraved a rude vignette of the Crucifixion. The hymn *Christians, awake* and the following stanzas, printed in parallel columns, form the whole of the text of the broadsheet, which is without date, printer's name, or other identifying mark. It will be perceived that these stanzas are in point of fact a paraphrase of the first three verses of the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, followed by a series of general reflexions suggested by them.

In line 29 I have made the obvious emendation "*to be born*" for the nonsensical reading of the broadsheet "*to burn*."]

## I.

GOD, Who at sundry Times, in divers Ways  
 Spake by His Prophets in the ancient Days,  
 When Time its due predicted Course had run,  
 Spake to Mankind by His Belovèd Son,—  
 Of Things in Heav'n, in Earth th' Appointed Heir,  
 Whom all the worlds by Him produc'd revere.

## II.

In His Divine Humanity was seen  
 Paternal Glory through Its Filial Screen ;  
 That Word within His Sacred Person dwell'd,—  
 That Pow'r by Which all Nature is upheld ;

In Him the Too Bright Majesty Above  
Shone forth, attemper'd by Incarnate Love—

## III.

To Him our utmost Praises all belong ;  
His Birth the Subject of our annual Song.  
With Voice of Joy and Gladness let us pay  
The Year's collected Tribute to the Day ;  
Let ev'ry Hour's Remembrance now unite  
To hail in Concert its returning Light !

## IV.

Think, what a Glorious Heav'nly Light thereon  
At first upon the watchful Shepherds shone ;  
What Glory of the LORD spread round about,  
When Hosts of Angels with a joyful Shout  
Proclaim'd the CHRIST, the LORD, the SAVIOUR'S Birth,  
Glory to GOD, and Peace to Men on Earth !

20

## V.

Let ev'ry Good that Providence imparts,  
Speak this Angelic Message to our Hearts ;  
Let us look up, whatever Ills befall,  
To Him Who bore and sanctified them all,  
Deign'd to be born, to suffer and to die,  
To gain for us the Glorious Life on High !

30

## VI.

Happy the Soul that in this lower Life  
By Faith and Love maintains the Christian Strife ;  
Taught by His Word, supported by His Pow'r,  
Fulfils the Duties of the present Hour ;  
And aims at nothing here but to increase  
Of GOD and Man the Glory and the Peace !

## APPENDIX II.

## THE HERMIT.

[The following lines are reprinted from *An Introduction to Byrom's Universal Short-Hand*, by T. Molineux, many years Teacher of Accounts, Shorthand and Mathematics at the Free Grammar School in Macclesfield, 5th edn., 1821. This work appears to have at first included a series of specimen passages in shorthand, which was afterwards separately published under the title of *The Stenographical Copy-Book or Short-Hand Instructor, containing the Characters which compose the Short-Hand Alphabet, a progressive series of Elementary Lessons and various select Specimens of Elegant Stenography* (1824). A copy of each of these publications is preserved in the Manchester Free Public Library, where they form part of the John Eglington Bailey Shorthand Collection presented to the Library by Mr. Henry Boddington in June, 1889; and to the Chief Librarian, Mr. C. W. Sutton, I owe the suggestion of this *Appendix*.

Plate xii. of the *Stenographical Copy-Book* contains a shorthand copy of the following lines, which in the table of *Contents* are described as "by J. Byrom, M.A., F.R.S., Inventor of the Universal Short-hand." In the *Introduction*, p. 75, an "*Explanation of Plate xii., Stenographical Copy-Book*," is prefaced by the statement that it contains "some Verses written by Mr. Byrom, and designed for the Use of Young Persons." The "explanation" consists of the ensuing lines in longhand, many of the words being abbreviated in accordance with Byrom's system.

Byrom's authorship of these lines, which in the absence of external evidence internal might have sufficed to prove, was recalled by the late Mr. John Harland in an article on our author in the *Manchester Guardian*, January 20th, 1841.]

A HERMIT there was, and he lived in a grot,  
 And the way to be happy they said he had got.  
 As I wanted to learn it, I went to his cell,  
 And when I got there, the old hermit said: "Well,



Young man, by your looks you want something I see ;  
Come, tell me the business which brings you to me ! ”

“ Why, hermit,” I answered, “ you say very true,  
And I'll tell you the business which brings me to you.  
The way to be happy they say you have got ;  
As I wanted to learn it, I came to your grot. 10  
Now, I beg and I pray, if you've got such a plan,  
That you'll write it down for me as plain as you can ! ”

Upon this, the old hermit soon took up his pen.  
And he brought me these lines, when he came back again :—

“ It is *being*, and *doing*, and *having*, that make  
All the pleasures and pains of which mortals partake ;  
Now to *be* what God pleases, to *do* a man's best,  
And to *have* a good heart, is the way to be blest.”

---

## APPENDIX III.

---

### THE CHESTER PRINTERS' PENANCE.

[The following unmistakeably Byronic lines were, like those contained in the previous *Appendix*, kindly communicated to me by Mr. C. W. Sutton, who found them on an old broadsheet bearing the colophon “CHESTER, printed by a *True Blue*,” and endorsed in *MS.*: “1748. *Verses by Dr. Byrom on Adams's Recantation.*”

As is well known, Mrs. Elizabeth Adams was the printer and publisher of *Adams' Weekly Courant*, popularly known as the *Chester Courant*, the Jacobite print to which Byrom was so frequent a contributor in the stormy times by which his placid spirit was far from disagreeably fluttered (cf. vol. I. p. 295 *et seqq.*). Her place of business, as we learn from the following lines, was in Newgate Street, Chester, so called from the

New-gate, erected in 1608 in the place of the ancient postern called Wolf's-gate or Pepper-gate, and celebrated for the breach made in its walls during the siege of 1645.

I have been unable to discover the nature of "the base, scandalous libel" indited in August, 1647, by some member of the "circle of wits retained in the service of Mrs. Ad—ms," as her contributors were sarcastically described by a writer in Whitworth's *Manchester Magazine* (August 4th, 1747). Most unluckily, in the series of *Adams' Weekly Courant, with News both Foreign and Domestic* preserved in the Library of the British Museum, there is a gap from July 7th to October 20th, 1747. Bishop Samuel Peploe, who held Low Church views, was suspected on principle both by the Fellows of the Collegiate Church at Manchester, while he was its Warden, and by the Jacobites of his diocese at large. He resigned the Wardenship in 1738, but remained Visitor till his death in 1752, without conciliating the goodwill of the Collegiate clergy. (See the late Canon Raines' *Wardens of Manchester*, II. 163, *Chetham Society's Publications*, 1885.) The obscurity of the allusions in the following lines is increased by the fact that in 1747 the Dean of St. Asaph was Mr. William Powell, whose career is thus described in D. R. Thomas' *History of the Diocese of St. Asaph*, &c. (1874), p. 244: "Nephew of Bishop Fleetwood; educated at Eton and St. John's College, Cambridge; he became vicar of Lambourne; sinecure rector of Llangwm, 1710-51; rector of Llanymynech, 1713-1729, and vicar of Llanyblodwel, 1713-31; Dean, and sinecure rector of Hope, 1731." It is almost to be feared that the rime suggested in l. 23 implies some, happily hidden, sarcasm.]

GOOD People, I, EL'SABETH Dowager AD—MS,  
The weakest and simplest of all the old *Madams*,  
And Printer of News that goes by my Name,—  
The *Weekly Courant*, which once had some Fame;

And I, likewise, your humble Servant, poor JOHN,  
ELIZABETH AD—MS's own sober Son,  
Now both of Us living in *Newgate-Street, Ch-st-r*,  
Where last *August* we brought on Ourselves a Disaster;



And hereby do own, not by privately hinting,  
 But confess and declare, we were Guilty of printing 10  
 And publishing too a base scandalous Libel,  
 (Tho' some Folks yet think it as true as the Bible)  
 Against our Right Reverend learn'd worthy Prelate.  
 With Shame and with Sorrow our Crimes we relate,  
 And beg and entreat his Lordship's full Pardon,  
*Whose exceeding good Character* We laid so hard on ;  
 And, what makes it worse (we speak without Jokes),  
 As his Lordship's kind Usage no mortal provokes,—  
 Yet we most humbly hope he'll accept our Submission,  
 And instead of our Persons take only Contrition. 20

Besides, in that News which our Hawkers did pass off,  
 We sadly abus'd the mild Dean of *St. A—ph* ;  
 For which said Offence against good Doctor *P—ry*  
 We each of Us here for Ourselves cry *Peccavi* ;  
 As Witness our Hands this Fourteenth of *November*  
 (A Day which with shame We shall ever remember)  
*An. Dom.* sev'nteen hundred, forty seven and one :  
*Elizabeth Ad—ms*, likewise *Ad—ms*, *John*.

---

## APPENDIX IV.

LIST OF NON-EXTANT PIECES IN VERSE WRITTEN BY BYROM, OR  
PROPOSED TO BE WRITTEN BY HIM, OR FOR WHICH  
SUBJECTS WERE SUGGESTED TO HIM.

(1) *Remains*, i. 76; *Journal*: "March 31st, 1724 . . . Vernon's brother would needs have me answer Lord Chesterfield's verses for him . . . April 1st . . . to Richard's, where I left a letter for Vernon with some verses for my Lord Chesterfield, twenty-four . . ."

(2) *Ib.*, i. 85; *Journal*: "February 11th, 1725 . . . I told him" [Jo. Clowes] "of my Letter to Fortune, and he said he would send it over to Montfaucon in my name . . ." [?]

(3) *Ib.*, i. 98; *Journal*: "March 20th, 1725 . . . sat up after I came home till near two o'clock, and finished the verses about the Resurrection, chap. 15 of the *1st Epistle to the Corinthians*, in the blank verse."

(4) *Ib.*, i. 123; *Journal*: "April 23rd, 1725 . . . Sat up till one o'clock and made some verses about the promise of a Saviour from the beginning of the world."

(5) *Ib.*, i. 124; *Journal*: "April 27th, 1725 . . . Thence to the Westminster election" [election of Westminster Scholars] ". . . about five went to the school again; I sat within the bar and heard all the declamations, pretty good verses; gave my verses about St. George and the Dragon to a lad, that is, Davis did; the subject was, '*Ne sit pro teste vetustas*'; they took, and the lad had some money given him . . ." *Ib.*, i. 135: "May 16th, 1725 . . . Mr. Clarke took a copy of my epigram upon Handel and Bononcini, and the old one of St. George and the Dragon . . ."

(6) *Ib.*, i. 269; *Ralph Leycester* [not "Peter Leycester" as several times by an editorial slip in the *Remains*] to *Byrom*: "October 14th, 1727 . . . It is well known to all the world that you have a happy talent at versification; for which reason, if Hymen should prove propitious, I bespeak you to honour the occasion with an epithalamium . . ."

*Ib.*, i. 284; *J. Swinton to Byrom*: "December 20th, 1727 . . . I promised him" ["Sir Peter"] "just before his departure to remind you of his epitaph (epithalamium, *Coll. Cestr.*, rectè,) which you must remember was requested of you at Bufton's. The piety of your muse cannot but comply with the last desires of such a friend, and I hope you will favour your vassal with a copy . . ."

(7) *Ib.*, i. 382; *Journal*: "July 1st, 1729 . . . We came away" [from Holloway] "about seven o'clock, another way through the fields to Gray's Inn Lane, and going and coming talked of Philosophy, Malebranche, &c.; I quoted to him the verses, 'Three diff'rent schemes,' &c., which he desired I would give him, and I said I would write them for him in shorthand . . ."

(8) *Ib.*, i. 405; *Journal*: "Cambridge, January 11th, 1730 . . . Mr. Wrigley asked me to drink tea at Quarles', Mr. Beresford, Leek, Dean, Williams, and after Mr. Parnam and a stranger there, talked of roots, fruits, Cornaro, hereditary ills, I repeated the verses 'Some chronic matters,' &c. . ."

(9) *Ib.*, i. 424; *Journal*: "Cambridge, February 7th, 1730 . . . After dinner went with Dr. Smith to Sir Robert Smyth, drank punch and tea [Be Stow epitaph] . . ." [?]

(10) *Ib.*, i. 427; *Journal*: "Cambridge, February 14th, 1730 . . . Wilson and I went to Magdalen to Coventry, Mr. Romney came to us, talked of religion, Mahomet, Procedure Brown, I repeated my 'O Thou whose powerful word' . . ."

(11) ? *Ib.*, i. 440; *Journal*: "Manchester, November 9th, 1730 . . . last night at Haukswell . . . where the workhouse matter was debated, but Sir Os" [wald Mosley] "much the same, viz., for opposing unreasonable powers, but for accommodating; I repeated, 'Ribs thirty-three this D—n had he,' &c. [?]"

(12) *Ib.*, i. 459; *Journal*: "January 29th, 1731 . . . one" [letter] "from Mr. N. Lancaster to make him a prologue and epilogue to Andria, which his boys were to act . . ."

(13) *Ib.*, i. 574; *Journal*: "April 2nd, 1735 . . . Abingdon's near seven . . . went up stairs and had a fire and sat up till one o'clock, began verses upon Prodicus's *Hercules*."

(14) *Ib.*, i. 632; *Journal*: "Cambridge, June 20th, 1735 . . . we read *Norris*" [of Bemerton] "some parts, his letter about his niece's

death, his contemplation of man's end, his 139th Psalm, upon which I recollected my verses upon it, which he" [Mr. Ferrand] "desired and I gave him when he came to see me at College (yesterday) . . ."

(15) *Ib.*, i. 634; *Journal*: "Cambridge, June 26th, 1735 . . . Mr. Walpole enquired what I had writ in my book, it was the translation of Ausonius's verses, which I read to him, and he desired a copy, saying they were very pretty, which he took in longhand . . ."

(16) *Ib.*, ii. 49; *Journal*: "Cambridge, May 22nd, 1736 . . . went with Taylor White to his room, where he desired me to write out of Chaucer the character of a good parson, which I did, and he desired I would put it in verse."

(17) *Ib.*, ii. 165-6; *Journal*: "May 19th, 1737 . . . thence to Dr. Hartley's . . . went with him in his chariot to Park Place . . . walked with him a little, the coach not being able to turn, and after saying 'One Son one Saviour,' &c., went to Dr. Hartley's . . ." [?]

(18) *Ib.*, ii. 168; *Journal*: "May 20th, 1737 . . . Looking at Monsieur de Renty's book, and thought of his letter to his father for one of those that might be put into verses upon occasion as epistles, Monsieur de Renty to his Father, the Laic to Taulerus, M. Berniers to —."

(19) *Ib.*, ii. 178; *Journal*: "June 25th, 1737. Yesterday, Friday, I was at home in the afternoon, and turning Mr. Law's *Needle and Loadstone* into rhyme." [See Law's *Works*, *Appendix* to Vol. ii.: "The only good that reason can do to you, is to remove the impediments of virtue, and to give room to that inward *instinct* or attraction to God and goodness to display itself; that the inmost spirit of your mind may receive its strength and assistance from the spirit of God, from which, as the *needle* from the loadstone, it has all its instinct of goodness and tendency towards God."]

(20) *Ib.*, ii. 262; *Journal*: "August 6th, 1739 . . . we stayed till eleven, and the talk very very — I did not like my share of it upon reflexion, but,

Jesus take me and possess me, &c.,

which words came into my mind in the morning rising; and now I think that to *think* on Jesus Christ continually, and wait upon him without ceasing, and let him be the hope, the thought, the word, the deed, the full assurance." [Then follows the *Hymn on Simplicity*, ante, p. 99.] [?]

(21) [*Ib.*, ii. 299; *J. C. Jacobi to Byrom*: "March 6th, 1740 . . . *Wo mir erlaubt ist Dero Fortgang in Erlernung unserer Sprache zu prüfen, so bäte ich mir aus die Übersetzung des folgenden Liedes* (If I may be permitted to test your progress in acquiring our language, I would request a translation of the following hymn) [by J. Scheffler]:

‘*Die Seele Gottes heil’ge mich,*’ &c.] [?]

(22) *Ib.*, ii. 365; *Journal*: "May 30th, 1743 . . . He [Law] said that I might make some hymns, showed me Joh. Angeli Silesii *Cherubinisher* [*Cherubinischer Wandersmann, oder Geistreiche Sinn- und Schlussreime*. Vienna, 1657. By "Johannes Angelus" or "Angelus Silesius" (Johann Scheffler, 1624-77)] a little German book of distichs, chiefly all upon Behmenish principles though his name not mentioned." [?]

(23) *Ib.*, ii. 418; *Byrom to Mrs. Byrom*: "February 26th, 1748 . . . Mr. Downes sung Mr. Lloyd the Alderman [Clowes]’s Ballad at Derby, and he said he was glad on’t, being afraid that no notice would have been taken, though he boggled a bit about King George and Hanover rats; but we explained how it was no affront to either." Cf. *ib.*, 421; *the same to the same*: "March 8th, 1748 . . . Have they printed the ballad that Tedy mentions?" and *ib.*, 424; *the same to the same*: "March 19th, 1748 . . . Mr. Downes sent me thy letter from Cambridge, by which I perceive that Alderman Clowes’s ballad is out by this time; cannot one see it somehow, and know the various reception that it meets with from different dispositions? . . . They have laid the Ode upon a somebody’s Birthday to my door. I presume that the Alderman’s Ballad will occasion some additional pieces of wit in the second edition of the Letter to his Honour, which will excel sure that which you sent me . . ." [It is of course merely a conjecture, that Byrom had a hand in the ballad; see Canon Parkinson’s *note, Remains*, ii. 418.]

(24) *Ib.*, ii. 488; *Byrom to Mrs. Byrom*: "February, 28th, 1749 . . . I have been transcribing and translating a copy of French verses, that came over lately, and have made some talk at Paris and here, for Dolly; but on receipt of thine I have deferred sending them till I hear from thee again . . ." [This might of course refer to any of the three pieces of verse, *ante* pp. 74 *seqq.*, which are alike superscribed "From the French."]

(25) *Ib.*, ii. 597-8; *Byrom to Bishop Hildesley*: "October 8th,

1757 . . . It is just of late that our last-mentioned book of How [Charles Howe]'s *Meditations*, which I was quite a stranger to, was lent me for a day or two . . . I liked it very well, and many just and pretty thoughts were in it. I perceived by a blotted paper that I had put some of the thoughts into rhymes, as my custom is now and then, when I steal a little prose for my own memory, or that of an acquaintance or two who can retain a meditation better in that shape, such as these for instance . . ."

(26) *Ib.*, ii. 615; *the Rev. F. Vernon to Miss Byrom*: "October, 1760 . . . The Doctor" [Byrom] "has done the great honour to my sermon to make it the occasion of so elegant a paraphrase as he has bestowed upon it. As he is a singular humane man, I was not a little pleased what I said found his approbation."

(27) *Ib.*, ii. 616-7; *the Rev. Wm. Purnell* [High Master of the Manchester Grammar School] *to Byrom*: "December, 1760 . . . I thank you for all former favours, and particularly for an epilogue and an epistle which I lately received and do suppose came from you. In the epistle you represent me as encouraging lewdness and vice, and acting contrary to virtue and religion, in permitting my lads to act a play; either of which things if I thought to be true, I would immediately stop the acting of the play. My notions of the stage are different from yours . . . As to virtue and religion, I have as great a regard for them as yourself; but as to reputation, I am entirely indifferent about it. You may publish the epilogue when you please . . . I desire you not to send your sentiments in a disguised manner. I will take everything from you in good part." Cf. *ib.*, 633; *the Rev. Dr. Thomas Patten to Byrom*: "April 25th, 1761 . . . I left you engaged in a sort of controversy with my well-meaning old master, which I hope terminated amicably after a few letters *pro* and *con.* upon the subject of theatrical performances. The writer of the epilogue seemed perfectly of your opinion on this subject, though the imputing of it to your Muse could be no great compliment to her."

---

## APPENDIX V.

EXTRACTS FROM JOHN BYROM'S JOURNAL, LETTERS, &C., 1728-1732  
(MAINLY 1730-1732); "CHETHAM LIBRARY *MS.*"

[I am enabled by the kindness of the Chetham Library Feoffees, and by the liberality of the Chetham Society, to subjoin as an Appendix to the present Edition of Byrom's *Poems*, the substantial part of a Transcript of a very remarkable *MS.* in Byrom's writing, now in the possession of the Chetham Library, and repeatedly cited in the preceding pages as the *Chetham Library MS.*

This *MS.* consists of a small quarto volume, about six inches by eight, in the original vellum binding, now much soiled, containing upwards of 270 pages. The *MS.*, which is partly in longhand, partly in shorthand, is indisputably throughout in Byrom's own writing, except in certain passages where some of the female members of his family were allowed to try their "prentice-hands" at his "system." An account of the history of the *MS.* is furnished by the following written statement, pasted on the first page :

"This *MS.* in the handwriting of John Byrom was purchased by me from Miss Howarth of Rusholme in June, 1872. It was formerly the property of her father, the late Rev. David Howarth, *quondam* minister of the New Jerusalem Church, Bolton Street, Salford. At the death of the Rev. John Clowes, Rector of St. John's, Manchester, a portion of his library passed into the possession of Mr. Howarth, and, no doubt, this Byrom *MS.* with the rest.

J. R. BOYLE.

Cottingham, near Hull,  
13 March, 1882."

Mr. Boyle was minister of the Swedenborgian Church at Hull. As to Mr. John Clowes, Fellow of the Collegiate Church, and afterwards first Rector of St. John's, Higher Broughton (of which he had himself

furnished site and endowment), who died unmarried in 1831 at the age of 87, see *Remains*, ii. 88, *note*, and Canon Raines' *Fellows of the Collegiate Church of Manchester*, edited for the Chetham Society by Dr. F. Renaud, pp. 322 *seqq.* Mr. Clowes was heir of the estates of a family with which Byrom was connected alike by kinship and by affection. The *MS.* passed out of the hands of Mr. Boyle into those of Mr. Henry Gray, bookseller, of Cathedral Yard, Manchester, and thence into the possession of the Feoffees of Chetham's Hospital.

An admirable account of the *MS.* was first given to the world by the late Mr. J. E. Bailey under the title of *John Byrom's Journal, Letters, &c., 1730-31*, in the *Palatine Note-Book* for May, 1882, and was reprinted by Mr. Henry Gray in the same year. The first of the entries in the book is dated August 1st [1728?], and the last of those contained in the pages following in direct order, December 24th, 1732. A second series of entries, however, commences at the bottom of the last leaf of the book, and continues in reversed order through about a sixth of the leaves of the *MS.* The first of this second set of entries is dated November 16th, 1730, and the last bears the date of 1733, which however is interlined, as in correction of a slip of the pen, "1732."

The contents of the *MS.* will appear from the ensuing impression of the Transcript, of which the shorthand portion was deciphered for the Chetham Society by Mr. A. B. Sparkhall, while the entries in longhand were most obligingly copied out for me by Mr. W. A. Shaw, whom I desire particularly to thank for his indefatigable aid. Considerations of space have obliged me to omit most of the extracts from the books read by Byrom—from Scripture, from patristic and other theological literature, and from the writings of Antoinette Bourignon in particular—which form a large part of this *MS.*, although they are by no means without significance as illustrating the bent of his mind as well as the character of his studies. So far as possible, I have sought to indicate the sources whence these extracts were taken. In the entries referring to Byrom's daily life and its interests I have attempted to preserve whatever might be accounted personal to himself.

It only remains to add that inasmuch as shorthand and longhand are freely intermingled in the *MS.*, it seemed idle, except in special instances, to distinguish in the ensuing pages between the passages written in the one character and in the other.]

August 1st [1728], Thursday. Going to see Mr. Reynolds and Father Byrom.<sup>1</sup>

September 3rd, 1729. Received from Chaddock 6*d.* for number 300.<sup>2</sup>

September 24th. Received from Clayton 1*s.*, left by Mr. Clayton for these notes excepting [?].<sup>3</sup> He went to Oxford on Monday, and having at the last meeting proposed the forfeiture for missing an exercise to be a shilling, though he had not time to write it scarcely, yet he left the payment behind him.

October 13th. Mr. Nield's.<sup>4</sup>

April, 1730. At Mr. Byrom's. Present Messrs. Houghton,<sup>5</sup> Bateson,<sup>6</sup> Nield, Battersby,<sup>7</sup> E. Byrom,<sup>8</sup> John Byrom.

April, 1730. At John Byrom's. Present Messrs. Battersby, Houghton, Nield, Chaddock, E. Byrom, E. Byrom, senior.<sup>9</sup> (Antoinette Bour[ignon].)<sup>10</sup>

April, 1730. At Mr. Nield's. E. Byrom, Joseph Byrom, John Byrom, Houghton, Battersby, Bateson.

<sup>1</sup> *Thursday*, August 1st, if this is a correct date, must have been in the year 1728; as is pointed out by a marginal annotator. As to "Thomas Reynolds, my subscriber," see *Remains*, i. 168, *note*. "Father Byrom" is Byrom's father-in-law, Joseph Byrom, who died in 1733 (cf. *Remains*, i. 531).

<sup>2</sup> As to Byrom's "cousin Chaddock" (William Chaddock of Chaddock, in the county of Lancaster), see *Remains*, i. 61, *et al.* He was one of Byrom's shorthand pupils, as appears from a list of Manchester names entered on this page of the *MS.*, with numbers appended, possibly denoting the marks obtained in a shorthand competition. Similar lists repeatedly occur in the *MS.*

<sup>3</sup> John Clayton, Fellow of the Collegiate Church. Cf. *ante*, vol i. p. 549.

<sup>4</sup> Miles Nield of Manchester, merchant, as to whom and his relationship to the Byrom family, see *Remains*, ii. 41, *note*. This and the following entries obviously refer to meetings of the Shorthand Club.

<sup>5</sup> John Houghton of Baguley, whose first wife was Mary, daughter of Joseph Byrom of Byrom Hall, Byrom's sister-in-law. Cf. *Remains*, ii. 386, *note*.

<sup>6</sup> As to Mr. Bateson, see *Remains*, i. 439, *et al.*

<sup>7</sup> As to Mr. Battersby, see *ib.*, i. 314, *et al.*

<sup>8</sup> Edward Byrom of Byrom Hall, Byrom's brother-in-law.

<sup>9</sup> Edward Byrom of Kersal Cell, Byrom's elder brother. He was the "senior" of the pair. See *Genealogical Table*, *Remains*, vol. ii. part ii.

<sup>10</sup> The conversation at this, and no doubt at many other meetings, ran on Antoinette Bourignon, as to whom see *ante*, pp. 65, 559.

At Mr. Lloyd's.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Houghton. Father Byrom being very ill.

May, 1730. At Mr. Lloyd's. Messrs. Houghton, E. Byrom, John Byrom.

Friday, April 24th, 1730. To Mrs. Elizabeth Byrom.<sup>2</sup> Dear Daughter, How do ye do? If you are in the humour to write a little Shorthand, I have here given you a book to write in. If you have any questions to ask about it, I shall be ready to answer them; which is all at present from your loving Father, John Byrom.

Dear papa! Pray, excuse me for not answering your letter sooner! Dear Father, do not puzzle me; you write such hard words; one or two, I could not read them, hardly.

Dear Mistress Betty! Will you learn to write straight? You are so ingenious, that I can hardly puzzle you. Do you really think that a little matter will puzzle you or must it be a great matter? Tell me if you can read this?

Dear Master, do you think I can read this Shorthand, and must I read such hard words?

Pray, good Mistress, how do you think you shall be able to learn, unless you do both read and write all kinds of words? .

Saturday, April 25th, 1730. Pray, good Master, do you not think I shall learn shorthand soon? I wish you much joy of Sister Dolly,<sup>3</sup> who has just been christened by Mr. Ashton. I wish you the same, Mamma, too.

Did you see your sister Nelly,<sup>4</sup> when she was dead?

Yes, I did, and went to see her burying.

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, *Introductory Note to Three Epistles to G. Lloyd, Esq.*, vol. i. p. 483.

<sup>2</sup> The exercises in Shorthand which follow formed part of the course of instruction in the art given by Byrom to his daughter Elizabeth ("Beppy"), the authoress of the delightful *Journal* printed in *Remains*, ii. 385-410. She died unmarried, aged 79, at Kersal Cell, December 2nd, 1801. They seem to me so delightful as of themselves to justify the publication of this Transcript.—It may be mentioned that, *s.d.* July, 1730, Miss Beppy contributed a series of collects and scriptural texts in shorthand to the *MS.* book.

<sup>3</sup> Dorothy Byrom (the "Dolly" for whom the Christmas hymn was written) died September 19th, 1797, unmarried. Richard Assheton was elected Chaplain of the Collegiate Church in succession to his father in 1720, and Fellow in 1731. See Canon Raines' *Fellows of the Collegiate Church of Manchester*, edited by Dr. Renaud for the Chetham Society, 1891, part ii. pp. 216 *seqq.*, and cf. *ante*, p. 19.

<sup>4</sup> Ellen Byrom, baptised April 23rd, 1728, died in infancy.

And was not you very sorry that she was dead?

Yes, I was.

Why was you sorry for her death?

Why, was not you sorry for her death?

Sunday, April 26th [1730].

Why should I be sorry for it?

Why, she was your own daughter, and why must you not be sorry?

Because it was not in my power to hinder her death; and since it was the Will of God that she should die, it was my duty to bear it with cheerfulness and not with sorrow. Do not you think so?

Yes.—Pray, Papa, what does Aunt Phœbe<sup>1</sup> say to her last letter which I wrote to her?

Monday, April 27th [1730].

She was very well pleased with it, and sent you many thanks for it.

Manchester, Monday 27th April.

Dear Aunt Phœbe,

How do you do? I am glad that you are better than you was. You are very welcome for that letter. I did but begin it on the 7th of April. I am glad that I have become your sister in shorthand. But do you not think that shorthand is too good to be put in my pocket? I thank you for your kind letter; I think you have done me good service in reading shorthand. My mamma gives her service to you and my Aunt Bradshaw<sup>2</sup> and my Dad and myself, we all give our service to you; and my Mamma desires that you will come on Friday at 9 o'clock, and stay dinner, and my Uncle and my Aunt to come at the same time with you; and my Papa and my Mamma desire that my Aunt Bertha will come and be Godmother to our Anne.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Phœbe Byrom, born 1697, died 1785, unmarried. Cf. *ante*, vol. i. pp. 5, 121. The lines *Phœbe's Fan* (*ante*, p. 68) follow in the *MS.* book (reverse pages) immediately after an entry bearing date May 6th, 1730.

<sup>2</sup> "Aunt Bradshaw" was probably the wife of John Bradshaw and daughter of Bishop Peplow of Chester. (Cf. *Remains*, i. 325.) The Bradshaw and Byrom families were connected by the marriage of Joseph Byrom, Byrom's father-in-law, with Elizabeth daughter of Miles Bradshaw of Darcy Lever.

<sup>3</sup> Anne Byrom, who was baptised May 12th, 1726, can hardly have stood in want of a godmother. (She died in 1740.) "Bertha" may be an error of transcription; the name does not I believe occur among the Byroms or their connexions.

Saturday, June 13th, 1730.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Illingworth<sup>2</sup> and Mr. John Lees,<sup>3</sup> our Shorthand Brother, called on me this morning to show me the subscription-paper, which I took from his reading, as on the other side. He came again after dinner, and desired me to go with him to Mr. Pigot,<sup>4</sup> which I did. There were Mr. Darcy Lever,<sup>5</sup> Sir Ralph Assheton,<sup>6</sup> Mr. Sidebottom of Middleton.<sup>7</sup> Mr. Illingworth and we talked the matter over. Darcy Lever was against the scheme of a subscription, but, because he had set his hand to it, seemed less willing to unsettle it, as it were; and we agreed that, if he had been unwarily led into it, or upon better consideration saw reason to alter his opinion, he need not stick to say so, or set his hand to his better judgment to overthrow his former mistakes. I quoted the case of a man approving of inoculation, and upon further view disapproving of it.<sup>8</sup> They had a meeting after

<sup>1</sup> It seemed hardly necessary to print the transcript of the "Subscription Paper about the Workhouse," to which this and subsequent entries refer, or the lists of subscribers (93) and nominees by which it is followed,—filling together three pages of shorthand in our *MS.* book. The paper, which is dated August 22nd, 1729, binds the subscribers to pay into the hands of Messrs. Thomas Butterworth and Jeremiah Bower the sums severally promised for the erection of a public workhouse for the habitation, employment and maintenance of the poor of Manchester, as may be directed by a committee of twenty-four Trustees and Managers, of whom eight being of the communion of the Church of England, are to be named by Messrs. James Chetham, J. Bailey of Bromsgrove and A. Howarth, Constable of Manchester, eight by the Churchwardens, and eight by Messrs. Thomas Butterworth, Richard Taylor and Jonathan Lees. Provision is made for the filling up of accidental vacancies in this body and for the annual election by its members of their successors; for the obtaining of an Act of Parliament; and for the postponement of all action and liability in the matter till after a sum of £2000 shall have been raised. Sir Oswald Mosley, who is named a trustee by Messrs. Chetham, &c., appears in the subscription list for £105; Mr. Chetham himself for £100; the remaining sums are smaller. The total of the sums subscribed amounts to £2162 10s.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Illingworth; as to whom see *Remains*, i. 370, *note*.

<sup>3</sup> John Lees; cf. *ib.*, i. 79, *et al.* He appears among the subscribers for the sum of £50.

<sup>4</sup> No doubt the Thomas Pigot, with whom Byrom on one occasion partook so liberally of "Dorset." (See *Remains*, i. 135 and *note*.)

<sup>5</sup> Mr. (afterwards Sir) Darcy Lever of Alkington, L.L.D. (See *ib.*, i. 50, *et al.*)

<sup>6</sup> Sir Ralph Assheton of Middleton, Bart. (See *ib.*, i. 220, *note*.)

<sup>7</sup> Samuel Sidebottom, M.A., Rector of Middleton, 1714–1752.

<sup>8</sup> As to Byrom's views on inoculation, cf. *ante*, vol. i. pp. 203 *seqq.*

at Mr. Hickswell's in the Square,<sup>1</sup> where I went ; but came away, because they were not come (the rest of them), and Mr. Lloyd and Houghton were at my house drinking tea, it being my son Edward's Birthday ;—God help him and make him a good man !<sup>2</sup> Mr. Lloyd and Houghton and I went afterwards and took a walk round Hulme Fields<sup>3</sup> and Caley Bongs,<sup>4</sup> and came in by Brother Cliffe's,<sup>5</sup> and met with Johnson Hurlothrumbo<sup>6</sup> in the fields by Garrett<sup>7</sup> with his brother the Jailer, and walked with him a little. He said the play of *The Cheshire Comics* was to be acted at the New House next winter, with alterations, Cibber having told him he had taken it.

Sunday, 14th. Mr. Pigot's man came here about noon, and desired me to come to his house. I stayed at home, because of Nanny's<sup>8</sup> having the measles broke out upon her. I dressed and went there, where were Mr. Illingworth and Dickenson,<sup>9</sup> and they read me a paper which Mr. Pigot had drawn up, to be printed to disperse among the parishioners to-morrow, being reasons against the Subscriptions project. All that I said to him as to these matters always, was to forbear personal reflexions as much as possible, and come to the point. He wrote out the paper fair, and sent it in the afternoon by his man, for me to read.

<sup>1</sup> I cannot identify Mr. Hickswell. The Square is of course St. Ann's Square, for the building of which, and of the Church which gave it its name, an Act of Parliament was obtained in 1708.

<sup>2</sup> Edward Byrom (born 1724, died 1773), Byrom's elder son (the younger, born in 1743, died in the same year), the "Tedy" of several affectionate passages in his *Diary*.

<sup>3</sup> Hulme Fields, or Field, in the township of Hulme.

<sup>4</sup> Caley Bongs, or banks, was the name of a piece of land near Oxford Street, not far from Garratt Hall. There is a Caley Street in the neighbourhood at the present day.

<sup>5</sup> Thomas Brearcliffe, the husband of Byrom's sister Sarah.

<sup>6</sup> Of Samuel Johnson "Hurlothrumbo" I have given some account *ante*, vol. i. pp. 138 *seqq.*, and in vol. xxx. of the *Dictionary of National Biography*. See *ib.*, as to *The Cheshire Comics*. Had Cibber actually produced this play at Drury Lane, that playhouse would hardly have prolonged its period, which was about this time drawing to its close.—I do not know who was Samuel Johnson's "brother the Jailer."

<sup>7</sup> Garrett or Garratt Hall, formerly the property of George and Margaret Trafford, benefactors of the Manchester Grammar School. (Dr. J. Aikin's *Description of the Country round Manchester*, 1791, p. 208) ; Philips's *Views of the Old Halls of Lancashire and Cheshire*, edn. 1893, p. 69.

<sup>8</sup> Byrom's daughter Anne.

<sup>9</sup> John Dickenson of Birch Hall, Rusholme, and of Market Street Lane, where the Young Pretender lodged in 1745. (*Remains*, ii. 392.)

I mentioned to them, when they called here after church, to wit Messrs. Dickenson, Illingworth, Thomas Clowes<sup>1</sup> and Pigot, that I observed there was no provision for the Trustees after 3 years being in the communion of the Church of England; and Mr. Pigot made that another article in the second place.

My brother Byrom called here, and said that Ned and Bet were very well at Kersal, where Ned went yesterday; and we concluded to let him stay, now Nanny happened to be ill of the measles.

[The entry next in point of time, dated "Friday evening, June 28th," is a shorthand report, occupying several pages, of a large portion of Dr. Samuel Clarke's *Sermon on God's Omniscience*.]

July 1st, 1730. At our parlour. Messrs. Battersby, Lloyd, Houghton, E. Byrom. Beppy writ some words. . . .<sup>2</sup>

Sunday night, at Father Byrom's, Mr. Dickenson and young Mr. J. Lees<sup>3</sup> brought the following paper, and Mr. Dickenson subscribed it, being to go up to town to-morrow morning.<sup>4</sup>

I was desired to draw up a shorter form; and Friday after I drew this:

"*Whereas* the project of some particular persons for erecting a public building in the town of Manchester was rejected at a public meeting of the inhabitants of the said town, without whose consent any undertaking of that nature would be injurious and of ill tendency; *And whereas* at the said public meeting it was carried, *nem. con.*, that a proper house should be hired for the employment of the poor according to the laws in being (and the practice of other places), and a proper house has been hired accordingly: We, the underwritten subscribers to the said project, who, know[ing] the ill use that may be made of it, would have nothing done in this matter in opposition to the unanimous wish of the said

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Remains*, i. 440.

<sup>2</sup> A letter in French ensuing upon the above entry, being I think clearly not Byrom's own, though in accordance with his religious sentiment, is not reprinted here. It is possibly a translation from Mdlle. Bourignon; but I do not feel certain as to this.

<sup>3</sup> As to John Lees see *Remains*, i. 440, *et al.* He subscribed £50 for the original Workhouse Scheme.

<sup>4</sup> I have not thought it necessary here to reprint the longer form, although it exhibits, perhaps rather more directly than Byrom's condensed version, the feeling of the "subscribers" that they had been caught in the machinery of an at first unsuspected (whig) job.

inhabitants (to which we adhere), do hereby revoke our several subscriptions, the reasons and obligations of which we conceive to be entirely ceased."

The faults you find in the paper on the side are in the words "some of us;" "surprised into a subscription;" "unknown powers;" "for that purpose;" "or at first we'll disown intention."<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Moseley brought me a transcript of Dr. Clarke's [discourse?] upon God's Fore-knowledge, and at the end of it the following arguments of his father, as I suppose, on Saturday, July 4th, 1730.<sup>2</sup>

September 14th. From Dr. Hammond,<sup>3</sup> which Mr. [Cattell?] lent me, who preached yesterday against Enthusiasm, as he then thought, because of me.

September 16th. Joseph Byrom, Messrs. Clayton, Houghton, Lloyd, Bradshaw and three Byroms present.

"My dear Brother in Morality,<sup>4</sup>

I had thought to have answered your very acceptable letter, when my sister went up; but she took such a sudden flight, I knew not of her departure till she was gone. I must take care that your Father does not give me the slip; and, besides all that, I should beg pardon for not seeing [seizing?] some opportunity before now. But it was partly the design of setting aside such a leisure hour for it as I have not yet met with, that made me defer it. But, excuse apart, as to the right worthy author who is the subject of your letter!<sup>5</sup> I have wished you with us many a time, that is to say, with your Brethren in Shorthand, and morality too, Messrs. Houghton and Lloyd; for we have taken several walks into the country round-about, to converse with him. We take

<sup>1</sup> All these phrases except the last actually occur in the longer paper.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *ante*, p. 589. I omit what I suppose to be Sir Oswald Mosley's arguments, as well as a long series of *Remarks*, dated October 11th, 1731, and not improbably due to Byrom himself, on the inexhaustible subject of Divine Fore-knowledge and Human Freewill.—Byrom's constant interest in this subject (cf. *ante*, i. 523, *et al.*) is attested by various notes and extracts on the subject from Mdlle. Bourignon and others in this *MS.*

<sup>3</sup> As to Dr. Hammond cf. *ante*, i. 353, *note*.—Byrom's poem on *Enthusiasm* was not produced till many years later (1752).

<sup>4</sup> I have inserted this characteristic letter here, in the apparent order of time in which it appears on one of the reverse pages of the *MS.* book.

<sup>5</sup> Clearly Father Malebranche. (Cf. *ante*, i. 77 *seqq.*)

the Father's Treatise on Morality along with us, and we all expound to the best of our capabilities ; and I being the senior Frenchman, they have been so kind as to call upon me for that purpose. We have almost got through the two Books of Morality, which are indeed most admirable ; and this way of talking them over lets one into the secret of them much better than one can imagine ; for which reason I always wished you with us, when we called a Chapter, as our phrase is.

"You say very truly that Morality is a study superior to all others besides it ; for, since our happiness depends so much upon our own behaviour, it is certainly more to our purpose to learn how to mend our manners than our matters,—our worldly matters. To be acquainted with the state of our own soul is more than to be acquainted with the history of the whole universe ; indeed, that is the whole universe to us. For, as we are ourselves, such is our universe that we live in. When our first progenitor, Father Adam, was created, and while he continued in his obedience to Him Who had placed him in so happy a condition, the world was a perfect paradise. God saw that everything was good ; His creature, man, while he followed the light of *that* Divine Understanding of Which he was made partaker, saw that everything was good also. It was his sin that wrought the sad change, and turned his paradise into his pugnatory. When he rebelled against God, it, the creation over which he was made a lord rebelled against him ; God pronounced the earth to be cursed for his sake, but it was he himself that brought that curse upon it. For God can curse nothing, being the Author of Blessing only. The world is the same good world with relation to its Righteous Maker, but different with regard to its guilty inhabitants."

Wednesday, September 19th, 1730. *La Vie de Ste. Tèrese.*<sup>1</sup>

September 23rd, Wednesday, the Race-day. Brother Brearcliffe<sup>2</sup> died on Monday night at half past nine.

Letter from E. Lampe, Monday, September 28th, 1730.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I do not know from which biography Byrom, in the entry which follows, abstracted a series of facts concerning the early life of St. Theresa. His Library contained (see *Catalogue*, pp. 212-3) her Works in Spanish (4to, Saragossa, 1693) and the French Translation by Arnaud d' Andilly (3 vols. 12mo., Antwerp, 1688).

<sup>2</sup> Byrom's brother-in-law, Thomas Brearcliffe of Halifax.

<sup>3</sup> I do not know what enthusiast was the owner of this well-known Saxon name, or whether he was connected with the popular German musician and composer John

"Dear Sir,

If you remember, I spoke to you some time ago about a proposition of your going to Stockport, and there, in conjunction with Mr. Deale oppose [*sic*] any person who had took my part in the defence of the principles of quakerism; and, as my friend John Gandy is willing to do it, and I should at the same time rejoice in having the pleasure of the company and the sorrow of disputing with such a rascal as you are, I beg you will be so good as to let me know at what hour this afternoon we may expect you will be ready to go with us. Pray do not delay to return an answer, and believe me to be, although your fellow in iniquity, from my heart your friend and servant in everything that reason will justify,

E. LAMPE.

Monday Morning."

To this I returned the following answer :

"Dear Sir,

I do remember a dispute you had with Mr. Deale; and I have been told that you had a dispute with him, whether he would or not, which appeared as a police-report. But, as you are asking me to oppose in conjunction with him any person who would take your part in defence of quakerism, [this] obliges me to tell you that I had no dispute or controversy to take, to have or to hold with any person whatever,—Christianity being always more injured than advantaged by such means. I am desirous to enjoy my own way of thinking to myself, and to receive or communicate any sentiments that may tend to promote true Christian duty, charity, [self-?] mortification and self-denial, and cure that vanity, love of pleasure, of riches, of any created thing, in short, that [passes?] with all our fine talking. But, as for disputing, as far as I can perceive, 'tis the evil of our pride and self-conceitedness that tempts us to it oftener than anything else; which obliges me to resist any temptation thereunto. Besides, would you have me dispute against the principles of quakerism, before I know what they are? I had a letter from you to explain them

Frederick Lampe, who was about this time beginning a successful career in London, and was "greatly esteemed by Charles Wesley." (*Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. xxxii.) Byrom's interest in Quakerism, and the pressure put upon him by its representatives, is illustrated by an interesting dialogue in *Remains*, ii. 64 *seqq.* The correspondence, however, is quite characteristic enough to warrant the printing of it.

to me ; but I am never the wiser ; and all that I can learn concerning the quakers is either :

1st. They do say that every man has the light of faith in him, if he would walk by it ; that we must follow the light within, and be led by the Spirit of God. For want of obedience to Him many and great corruptions have been brought into Christianity ; and stairs lead up [?] towards matters which belongeth rather to inward . . . . ; and herein I agree with them.

2nd. That they wear particular habits and use particular pronouns, avoiding the custom of lifting the hat off, and such-like ceremonies of gesture and speech ; and these things, supported from no faction about them, I suppose to be matters of indifference, which a man may use or let alone, as he finds it suitable to himself.

3rd. That they abolish Baptism and the Lord's Supper, two positive institutions of Jesus Christ, without any particular revelation or command from Him to lay them aside, and in general [show, or feel] contempt at all outward ways used in all churches of Christians of showing our willingness to obey and communicate with the governors and members of Christian Societies. And in these things I cannot justify them, neither have I any authority to call upon them to do it, being myself none of [their] number, but baptised according to the church of England, wherein I think I can be edified [sooner than in] another profession, if it be not my own fault. I am far from being an enemy of the quakers because of their name "quaker." It is their life, their love of the world, their wisdom as to this generation, their luxury and neglect of that Spirit which they particularly pretend to, which I blame in a quaker as well as in myself and others. I exhort you, upon the whole, friend Lampe, [to] curb that spirit of dispute that will engage you in talking and spluttering about Christianity, while you should be manifesting it in the quiet spirit [by] prudent and serious behaviour at all occasions. In taking this advice reason will justify . . .<sup>1</sup>

Your humble Servant,

J. BYROM."

Wednesday, October, 1730. Yesterday Mr. Houghton and I came from Chester Fair, &c. We went to Toft<sup>2</sup> on Thursday ; called at Mr.

<sup>1</sup> The concluding sentence is unintelligible.

<sup>2</sup> The seat of Mr. George Leycester, the father of Byrom's friend Ralph ("Sir Peter").

Penny's, who gave us a bottle of soda and syrup, very good. We found Messrs. Swinton<sup>1</sup> and Watkis and Barneston<sup>2</sup> and Captain Lancaster at Toft. We lay at Knutsford [at] Mr. Swinton's, who brought us next morning as far as Tabley.<sup>3</sup> We came to [Tabley?] before Mr. Leycester, and we dined there, and Captain Lancaster told me of a family-mark of his, a red spot behind the neck, which I told him my wife and children had; so we were to be cousins. We met Mr. John Dickenson.

On the first, we lay at Tarvin,<sup>4</sup> where [at?] Mr. Edwards the parson, with Mr. Thomasen,<sup>5</sup> Duckworth, Mr. Banne<sup>6</sup> and his wife, were very merry at supper with our infallible remedy against losing leather, which caused much diversion. We breakfasted with Mr. Thomasen, who had sold his *Anacreon* for fifteen guineas to . . . We dined next day at Chester with Mr. Leycester, and went to friend Elwall, who was composing his Sabbath,<sup>7</sup> but came down to Mr. Leycester's,—Houghton, Lancaster and me; and Mr. Lancaster having his hat off, he said to me: "Friend Lancaster, less of thy hat and more of thy heart;" that he would be with us at six or seven o'clock, but now he had a better Master to serve (than I, who that time had come on purpose and hoping to see him), and wished he would do so too. We had him two nights at Mr. L.'s; and Mr. Houghton and I were with him most

<sup>1</sup> Sub-Dean, and a member of the Shorthand Club. (See *Remains*, i. 269, *et al.*)

<sup>2</sup> Of Trinity, and a member of the Shorthand Club. (See *ib.*, 265, 314.)

<sup>3</sup> Lower Tabley Hall, near Knutsford, the birthplace and residence of the antiquary Sir Peter Leycester.

<sup>4</sup> For an account of Tarvin (five miles N. by E. from Chester), of which the manor was long annexed to the see of Lichfield and Coventry, and the rectory to a prebend in Lichfield Cathedral, see Lysons' *Topographical and Historical Account of Cheshire*, pp. 793 *seqq.*

<sup>5</sup> John Thomasen, whose fame is recorded in the following epitaph on the outside of Tarvin Church: "John Thomasen, thirty-six years master of the grammar-school, highly excelling in all the varieties of writing, and wonderfully so in the Greek character. Specimens of his ingenuity are treasured up in the cabinets of the curious, and in the public libraries throughout the Kingdom: he had the honour to transcribe the *Icon Basilikè* of her royal grandfather for Queen Anne; invaluable copies also of *Pindar*, *Anacreon*, *Epictetus*, *Hippocrates' Aphorisms*, and that finished piece, *The Shield of Achilles* (as described by Homer) are among the productions of his valuable pen. Ob. Jan. 25th, 1740, *at.* 54." (*Ib.*, p. 795.)

<sup>6</sup> Nathaniel Banne, Rector of St. Anne's Church, Manchester, where he is buried.

<sup>7</sup> As to Elwall and "his Sabbath," cf. *ante*, i. 250, *note*.

of the Sunday afternoon at the Crown Inn in Watergate Street, and Mr. Leycester part of the whole; and so had full talk with him about all things. I promised him to translate Philo Judæus *de Decalogo*<sup>1</sup> for him. Mr. Williams<sup>2</sup> had invited us on Sunday night to dine with him on the morrow, but we thought fit to come away, having seen friend Elwall sufficiently, and having bought some things of him. On Monday morning I bought a silver-gilt snuff-box, a snail-shell 6s., a brass one 2s. 6d., two pair of scizzors, a perpetual almanac, a brass medal 9d., two horn cups 6d., a shell 3d., an Indian bag 9d., three counters 3d. We had seen Alderman Bennett's<sup>3</sup> cellars, eighty yards long vaults. He remembered me, he said, thirty years ago at Chester, meaning I fancy my brother, because he said I was thinner.<sup>4</sup> He was very civil. We had a drink with him, and talked about the Trinity. Thus we came away. Monday to Frodsham<sup>5</sup> and saw Warrington; met Tom Vaudrey.<sup>6</sup> Lay at the Eagle and Child. Mr. Haddon who is John,<sup>7</sup> Malyn the Harper.<sup>8</sup> The Red Lion, the next house, on fire, when we got up next morning; and we had gone in there and come out again. We breakfasted with Mr. Haddon, Mr. Shaw<sup>9</sup> there; met Darcy Lever on the way; came home half past six, &c.

October 10th, 1730. Mr. Houghton and I looking over the *Spectators*; the numbers to be writ again or wanting are . . .

The bad ones to write again are . . .<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Philo, commonly called Judæus, born at Alexandria about 20 B.C. The object of his works, which consist mainly of commentaries on the Pentateuch, is to harmonise with the aid of allegory the Platonic philosophy of religion with the letter of the Mosaic books. Byrom's Library contains a folio edition (Paris, 1640) of his complete works.

<sup>2</sup> Probably Mr. Williams "of Trinity"; cf. *Remains*, i. 344, *et al.*

<sup>3</sup> I do not know which member of this ancient Cheshire family, more than one of whom was an alderman of Chester, is here in question.

<sup>4</sup> Byrom was extremely thin and tall.

<sup>5</sup> Eleven miles from Chester on the road to Manchester. It is about eight miles, as the crow flies, from Warrington.

<sup>6</sup> As to Thomas Vaudrey, see *Remains*, i. 490, *note*.

<sup>7</sup> As to "Mr. Haddon who is John," if this periphrasis is a correct transcript, cf. *ante*, i. 85.

<sup>8</sup> Probably Robert Malyn. Cf. *Remains*, i. 318, *note*. Why here called "the Harper," I cannot conjecture.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *Remains*, i. 408.

<sup>10</sup> I have transferred this entry from an earlier page in the *MS.* book. As to

Wednesday, 5 o'clock. Reading the *Apostolic Constitutions*.<sup>1</sup>

Thursday. At Sister Brearcliffe's in the afternoon with Mrs. Byrom. Phoebe went to [Smithills?] with Frank,<sup>2</sup> to go to Blackburn. Josiah<sup>3</sup> here sat with me at night. I read the *History of Montanism*<sup>4</sup> which I had from Clayton yesterday night; and now on Friday morning, rainy, I am reading *Clement. Homil.*<sup>5</sup>

Mr. Gentleman called here this afternoon, going to Chester to-morrow morning on business. Went to the Library; Mr. Townshend<sup>6</sup> showed me the Manx Lord's Prayer. . . . He had written to Mr. Cattell<sup>7</sup> to send it to him to interpret, but I told him it was Manx, and, looking at the Lord's Prayer in all languages, we found it to be the Lord's Prayer. Mr. Houghton here at the time, and Mr. Leigh<sup>8</sup> and Bosford [?], not going to Cambridge until the 9th. . . .

Byrom's contributions to the *Spectator* cf. *ante* i. 590 *seqq.* There is no evidence to show that any further papers by him appeared in the *Spectator*, or were written with a view to publication in it.

<sup>1</sup> The so-called *Apostolic Constitutions* consist of eight books, of which the first six present a complete account of the Christian life, while the seventh is a separate shorter manual on the same subject. These are held to have been written towards the end of the third century. The eighth book, which refers solely to sacred transactions, was put together in the middle of the fourth century for the use of the clergy. (Gieseler's *Ecccl. History*, Davidson's translation, i. 259, *note*.)

<sup>2</sup> The transcript has "Widchill," possibly (as Mr. Christie has suggested to me) an error for "Smithills," a property of the Byrom family near Bolton-le-Moors, and therefore on the road to Blackburn. (See *Remains*, ii. 489, and *note*.) I know of no Frank in the family.

<sup>3</sup> Josiah Byrom, born 1708, died 1740, brother-in-law to Dr. Byrom.

<sup>4</sup> I do not know what *History of Montanism* is in question. A religious movement laying claim to direct inspiration by the Holy Spirit could not but interest Byrom, who declined to ignore such pretensions in whatever age of the Church they might be advanced.

<sup>5</sup> The so-called *Clementines*, consisting of a series of homilies composed by a Roman Christian towards the end of the second century, and attributed by him to the Apostolic Clement. Their purpose was to advance and unite Christianity on the basis of the Elcesaitic heresy of the early Jewish Christians.

<sup>6</sup> Probably the Mr. Townshend or Townsend mentioned *Remains*, i. 80 and 176, who seems to be a different person from the Thomas Townshend (second son of the second Viscount Townshend), a representative of the University of Cambridge in six successive Parliaments. (In the Index to the *Remains* both are rolled together—no solitary instance of this process.)

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *ante*, i. 45, *note*.

<sup>8</sup> Probably Mr. Peter Leigh of Lyme in Cheshire. (Cf. *Remains*, ii. 38, *note*.)

Philo Judæus *de Decalogo*, from p. 7 to 769 [?]. Translated part of this, but it does not seem to be quite so much to the purpose of Mr Elwall as he expected.<sup>1</sup>

## TO RALPH LEYCESTER.

“ Friend Leycester,

This [is] to acquaint thee that the young man H. and I had a very pleasant walk to Warrington to-day and [after?] we departed from thy house, and another the next day to this our native place. And this afternoon Friend Gentleman called upon me, saying that he intended to journey after the same manner to Warrington on the morrow, and so to Chester, in order, as I suppose, to exhibit his wonted experiments before thee and all such as desire to see them. Thou knowest that I spoke formerly to thee concerning him, and thou wilt now have an opportunity to show countenance unto him, according as what I then urged to thee and thy own judgment thereupon shall move thee.

After this man had left me, I bethought myself of consulting that part of Philo the Jew's works which concerns the Decalogue, and which I had promised Friend Elwall to translate for him, if it would answer his expectation about it. Upon a slight perusal of the man's notions concerning the Sabbath, for the sake of which I suppose our friend desired to see him in English, whose [expectations?] I do somewhat doubt of his system in them.

Philo doth, indeed, very highly commend the seventh day, and extol the holiness thereof; but when thou hearest his reasons for such veneration for it, I believe thou wilt marvel with me what the man meaneth. Thou knowest that the reason of its being holy in Scripture is, because the Lord God sanctified it Himself; and the reason of that is, because He rested thereon from His works, having in six days finished the creation which He created. And from thence Friend Elwall taketh occasion to say, that the law of keeping the seventh day holy is of universal obligation, being built upon a reason which concerned not a Jew as a Jew, but as a man, and therefore concerned all men equally.

<sup>1</sup> Jottings from Philo Judæus follow, on the reasons for the Seventh Day being called *'Anaravris* (the Day of Rest).

Now, Philo (in those places which I have dipped upon<sup>1</sup>) seemeth to say, that this is because of the neutral and essential properties of the number seven<sup>2</sup> which, saith he, is a virgin ; that it is not itself begotten, neither doth it ever beget ; it approacheth nearest to the nature of unity, and God Himself is best known or contemplated by it. It is the measure, not of mortal, but of immortal and blessed, things. Nature delighteth much in it,—which he believeth plainly because there are just seven Planets ; the Great Bear consisteth of seven stars and no more, not to mention the Seven Stars themselves ; also, the Moon changeth at seven days, and the age of man is divided by sevens,<sup>3</sup> he being an infant till seven, and then he reasoneth ; at twice seven he is able to propagate ; he groweth till thrice seven ; and if he be born at seven months, it is happy for him. The motions of his body are seven, viz., up, down, fore, back, right, left, and round-about. His members, &c., are all seven apiece. There are divers other things said of seven : as, seven vowels ; seven notes in music ; seven tones ; seventh day critical ; and the Greek word which denoteth ‘seven’ is insisted on in such a manner that I believe that, if Philo had known that in our language ‘seven’ and ‘Heaven’ had been so near, he would have mentioned it as well as the Latin, which he hath taken notice of for beginning their ‘*septem*’ with an *s*, thereby confirming its rise from [σεμνός]<sup>4</sup> (if I remember right) ; in which point the Greek ἑπτα is rather deficient. He applies to the mathematics for the explanation of ‘seven,’ and proves it by 3 angles and 4 angles. In a word, he says the nature of seven has glories beyond the power of words to express.

Philo had probably heard the heathenish objection to Moses’ account of the Creation, which one of their poets<sup>5</sup> has expressed in his

‘*Tanquam [lassitudo ?] Dei*’;

<sup>1</sup> See esp. *Lib. de Mundi Officio secundum Moysen*, cc. 30 seqq.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Schiller’s *Piccolomini*, or *The First Part of Wallenstein* (Coleridge’s translation), *Act*, I., *Sc.* 6 :

“ five and seven,

The holy numbers, include themselves in twelve.”

<sup>3</sup> According to the verses attributed to Solon by Philo, *u.s.*, c. 35.

<sup>4</sup> See *Phil. Jud.*, *u.s.*, c. 42, where this fancy is further developed. Byrom’s levity, as is so often the case, must be excused by his want of knowledge. The rest of the matter will be found in Donaldson’s *New Cratylus* (2dn edn., 1850), 263–5.

<sup>5</sup> The word “*lassitudo*” is suggested by Mr. Christie in lieu of the reading of the transcript : “*lass . . . imago Dei*.” I am, however, unable to identify the quotation.

and designed to obviate it by saying, that it is a simple thought to him that it . . . Now, it is the perfection of the sixth number that . . . the first number, that is, [according to] all its parts are commensurate ; and so he talks of the half  $\frac{1}{3} = \frac{1}{6}$ , and how mortal things are measured by six, as immortal by seven. But, having given thee a specimen of his 'seven,' I need say no more of his 'six.' I shall only add, as it comes into my head, that, if this had been papistical doctrine, John Tillotson who derives our '*hocus-pocus*' from the papists '*Hoc est Corpus*,' would possibly have derived another common phrase, by which we signify the jumbling of things together, from this way of talking.<sup>1</sup>

The word 'rest,'<sup>2</sup> Philo says, was not applied to the Seventh Day, as some think, because the people rested from their usual works on it, but because it is most plainly the most friendly possible and quiet number of all others ; of which our five senses and our speech [?] are witnesses. For what work do they not crave, till the poor seven belonging to the mind, which delighteth in unity, or being alone, entwining itself with itself, maketh all quiet, and bringeth senses' opposition [?], speech [?], to rest ; for this seemeth to be the purport of a passage too long to render literally or epitomise correctly. Thou wilt guess somewhat at the mystico-numerico-, 6ico-7ico, way that Philo has of explaining matters, or to [?] the Sabbath ; which how my Friend Elwall will approve of, I know not ; but, if he be yet with thee, I pray thee ask him ; and also tell him, that I am willing to serve him nevertheless in this or any other matter, having no aversion to any good author, because I am ignorant in some things wherein another's may be had to better purpose than I may conceive till I have submitted my poor understanding to better information ; which I would be ready to do in this and all other matters whatsoever.

I was the more inclined to lay this matter before thee, Friend Leycester, because I had formerly been at some pains to enter into these mystical arithmetics,—this religious algebra of Philo's, which, I suppose, he might have taken from the Pythagoreans, who were some of them

<sup>1</sup> The phrase, I suppose, of being "at sixes and sevens." Archbishop Tillotson's derivation is well-known, but appears to be accepted neither by Johnson nor, among modern authorities, by Professor Skeat.

<sup>2</sup> I am not sure of my transcript here. The reference seems to be to Philo Judæus, *Ss. Legg. Allegor.*, i. 6.

great adepts in the art of explaining nature by numbers, and some philosophers of other sects have dabbled in, and also some that were no great friends to Religion. If thou consultest the Rosicrucians and the Freemasons, thou wilt find in them certain remains of the ancient Cabbala,<sup>1</sup> of which they have retained the secret without the understanding, and which is the true reason why these latter do (and justly enough) boast that their secret cannot be found out; although I do believe that more might be known of it than the preternatural . . . . of it were worth while to make it necessary, which it will hardly be, unless some number of gentlemen would be as unanimous in making it a point of open criticism as they are in making it a piece of secret nonsense. Many of the old heretics in the first ages of Christianity muddled their brains and writings with these conditions of numbers,—a learning of which the orthodox were not always clear. A famous reputed atheist, an Italian,<sup>2</sup> whose works are extant but very scarce, has entered the deepest into it of any that I have met with, and shown a prodigious depth of fancy and genius, and real particular fury [?], and a fund of rare natural sense, perverted by his command of unintelligible madness; for such, I must confess, it hath appeared unto me; but I just hint these things to thee in haste, that, if there be curious spirits may thy countenance that know nothing [by their countenance that know something?] of the matter, thou must enquire of them, and see what account they give of Friend Philo's philosophy about the Cabbala, which thou wilt better judge of by consulting him; which I have not time to do but very hastily.

True Religion, Ralph, is the plainest thing in the world. It is not a word, but a thing; not a matter of dispute, but of practice.<sup>3</sup> Let men lay aside their proud lust and avarice, and all they have imagined, fancied; let them grant only these two [propositions], that we were born, and that we shall die;—and [the?] consequences are plainly deducible by any means whatsoever. There are but the three systems that all others fall into,—chance, necessity, Providence; and there is no possible room [or] employment for sense or reason, virtue or vice, in the

<sup>1</sup> The Jewish system of Theosophy. Reuchlin's *de Arte Cabalistica et Verbo Mirifico* is in Byrom's library, and is cited by him in this *MS.* book.

<sup>2</sup> Giordano Bruno?

<sup>3</sup> *Verba vere aurea.*



two first. Chance supposes ignorance only in us ; and necessity makes understanding void. They are the idols of thoughtless minds ; but Providence solves everything, and all is darkness and confusion without It. Every man may be happy, if he will ; if he will not, there is the true origin of evil. Freedom is the free gift of Heaven ; if we will use it to choose good, to worship Real Power, and to obey Supreme Wisdom, to love Infinite Goodness, we are wise and happy for ever. If we choose to be fools, we have a right to our follies, and none can or will hinder us from them. What we ask we shall have, and what we sow we shall reap. Now is the time to make a good choice ; now we stand upon our trial, to see whether we prefer vice with present pleasure, or virtue with eternal pleasure. Didst thou ever see these Rimes,<sup>1</sup>—they come into my mind, and I must write them down for my own amusement ; and then I'll bid thee good night, for itself,—how possible [under ?] three different schemes ?

Saturday morning. Our breakfast putteth me in mind of the box, which you desired them to send as soon as possible, that I may present it to my dame before I depart, the which I shall do the first fair wind. My love to friend Lancaster,<sup>2</sup> the Harlong[?], and also my cousin with the family mark, &c.<sup>3</sup> They would excuse me to friend Williams the Senator.<sup>4</sup> I wish all [the] wise ones of our nation were men of good sense, as he seemeth to be. When thou seest friend Liddran Bayonet, [Baronet ?] salute him in my name, and all other friends whatsoever. My wife greeteth thy wife, and sister, &c.

Thy loving friend,

J[OHN] B[YROM]."

Mr. Gentleman breakfasted with me on Saturday morning. I sent this by him. Mr. Houghton dined there on apple-pie, very good. I was at Dr. Mainwaring's<sup>5</sup> at night. Sunday morning (that is, this morning),

<sup>1</sup> No rimes appear to follow here.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Nathaniel Lancaster ? (Cf. *Remains*, i. 610, *note*.)

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *ante*, p. 594.

<sup>4</sup> Either "Mr. Williams of Trinity" (*Remains*, i. 344), as to whose subsequent career I know nothing, or the gentleman (*ib.*, 571, *note*) who, on the death of his father in 1740, became Sir Watkin Williams Wynn, Bart., M.P. for Denbighshire, having in 1719, on inheriting Wynnstay, assumed the surname of Wynn.

<sup>5</sup> Dr. Peter Mainwaring ; cf. *Remains*, i. 45, *et al.*

Sister Brearcliffe<sup>1</sup> sent to desire me to sit with her at the New Church, and I did. Mr. Brooke<sup>2</sup> preached. Stayed at home in the afternoon, reading Dr. Stillingfleet, upon the subject of Jesus Christ.<sup>3</sup> Lady Bland,<sup>4</sup> Jenny<sup>5</sup> and Mr. Malyn at Father Byrom's to drink tea. I was there, and now just come home, having been told that Dr. Hooper<sup>6</sup> was laid up of the gout at Bath.

Sunday night. I went to Sister Brearcliffe's. Talked about . . . tuition, children learning their Catechism and their Latin.

Monday morning. The hostler at the Black Bull brought my night-cap from Warrington. Reading about the meaning of the word "Bread."

[Then follows this list of illustrative quotations from Scripture, all of which I have verified:]

*Proverbs*, iv. 17; *Deuteronomy*, viii. 3; *St. Matthew*, xv. 26; *Numbers*, xiv. 9; *St. John*, vi., *passim*; *Proverbs*, xx. 17; *ib.*, xxxi. 27; *Ezekiel*, xxiv. 17-22; *Hosea*, ix. 4; *Daniel*, x. 3; *1st Corinthians*, v. 8; *Hosea*, iv. 8; *Isaiah*, iv. 1, 2; *Jeremiah*, xv. 16; *Ezekiel*, iii. 1-3; *ib.*, 10; *1st Corinthians*, x. 3-4; cf. *Exodus*, xvi. and xvii.; *Amos*, viii. 11-13; *Hebrews*, v. 12-14; *1st Corinthians*, iii. 2-4; *St. John*, iv. 14, and *passim*; *ib.*, 32-4; *Hebrews*, xiii. 9-10; *Ezekiel*, xxxiv. 16; *Isaiah*, xlix. 26; *Jeremiah*, iii. 15; cf. *ib.*, xxiii. 3-4; *St. John*, xxi. 16; *Acts*, xx. 28; *1 St. Peter*, v. 2; *Genesis*, xlviii. 15; *St. Matthew*, ii. 6; *Revelation*, ii. 17; *ib.*, xii. 6; *ib.*, xvii. 2; *Deuteronomy*, xxii. 32-3; *Job*, xxi. 20; *Ephesians*, v. 18; *Jeremiah*, xvi. 17.

Library, November 2nd, 1730. Mother Byrom<sup>7</sup> dead in the house.

<sup>1</sup> Byrom's sister Sarah, married (1711) to Thomas Brearcliffe of Halifax. She died February 20th, 1768.

<sup>2</sup> The Rev. Henry Brooke, High Master of the Manchester Grammar School, who was appointed Fellow of the Collegiate Church in 1728. Cf. *ante*, i. 148.

<sup>3</sup> Query Bishop Stillingfleet's *Two Discourses concerning The Doctrine of Christ's Satisfaction* (London, 1700)? A copy of this is in Byrom's Library.

<sup>4</sup> Anne, daughter of Sir Edward Mosley and wife of Sir John Bland, the heiress of Hulme Hall and estate. She was a liberal subscriber to the building of St. Anne's church, where the initials of her name were put upon the cover of the Communion-table. (AIKIN.)

<sup>5</sup> Hardly John and Mary's eldest daughter, who can have been hardly more than an infant.

<sup>6</sup> Francis Hooper, D.D., fellow of Trinity, incumbent of Didsbury, chaplain to Lady Bland and Librarian of the Chetham Library. (See *Remains*, i. 35, *note, et al.*)

<sup>7</sup> Byrom's mother-in-law, Elizabeth, daughter of Miles Bradshaw of Darcy Lever and Manchester, and wife of Joseph Byrom of Manchester and Byrom Hall.

Mr. Townsend<sup>1</sup> called here, as we were going to bed one night, and desired me to read Stephen Duck to them, and we read him and talked of him till about 3 o'clock ; and so I took the opportunity to transcribe this,<sup>2</sup> while they were talking.

Saturday, October 31st, 1730.[?]<sup>3</sup> Mother Byrom died just after 2 o'clock, and was buried on the Tuesday following. Mr. Houghton went to Cambridge, very rainy weather. I should have gone with him, but for the death of Mother Byrom, which has prevented me. She was struck with palsy, so that she could not speak nor swallow. Had Dr. Mainwaring and then Deacon<sup>4</sup> to her. She was very sensible, but could not express it outwardly ; but she knew Father Byrom that morning that she died. She was a very good woman, to my thinking, and cheerful in her lame, helpless condition to such a degree as I have often admired at, and thought no wicked person could be.

Wednesday morning. In my Parlour, reading those books that I have in my study relating to mystic matters. Finished a letter to Phebe about cheerfulness, beginning : "You must for once," and ending : "I pray God keep you from the snares of . . . who would have [you?] for love or money."<sup>5</sup>

Thursday, November 5th, 1730. Mr. Legh Master,<sup>6</sup> and Mr. Bold<sup>7</sup> and his wife, came to town last night ; I called at the Bull's Head, but did not go into his room. Streynsham<sup>8</sup> promised to come to breakfast with me, and bring his brother ; but sent this morning about 8, that he had breakfasted with Mr. Bold, who went out of town. He and Mr. L.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Remains*, i. 80, *et al.*

<sup>2</sup> A transcript "Stephen Duck on Poetry" has been omitted before this entry. There follow on it in succession the *Lines to Stephen Duck* (*ante*, i. 215), *Father Jerdan* (*ib.*, 217), and *The Origin of Poetry* (*ib.*, 410).

<sup>3</sup> Obviously a wrong date, possibly written down before the memoranda which ensue.

<sup>4</sup> Dr. Thomas Deacon. Cf. *ante*, i. 301, *et al.*

<sup>5</sup> The meaning of the last line can only be guessed at. The "letter to Phœbe" must have been in prose ; but cf. the poetical *Dialogue on Contentment*, in which Phebe Byrom is a speaker, *ante*, i. 121 *seqq.*

<sup>6</sup> M.P. for Newton. (See *Remains*, ii. 252, *note*.) Byrom, as elsewhere, spells the name Legh "Lee."

<sup>7</sup> Peter Bold, son and heir of Richard Bold of Bold, M.P. (See *ib.*, i. 341, *note*.)

<sup>8</sup> Streynsham Master, younger brother of Legh Master, afterwards Rector of Crosston. (Cf. *ib.*, i. 298, *note*.)

and Mr. Cattell [?]<sup>1</sup> and the Warringtons.<sup>2</sup> Surgeon Brown,<sup>3</sup> I think, called and went away soon after. Mr. Cattell thanked me for writing his name in Whitby, &c.

Last night I was with Mr. Lever at Dr. Deacon's. Brother Josiah,<sup>4</sup> Mr. J. Lees Stringer,<sup>5</sup> Nield Dick [Dick Nield?] here with the copy of the scheme for the Workhouse Act, about which he spoke to Mr. Master this morning.

Mr. Mann called here, and complains of his four [kegs of Manchester lime?]<sup>6</sup>

It comes into my head to make a new alphabet :<sup>7</sup>

- A. Abandon absolutely your will to God.
- B. Believe in Jesus Christ.
- C. Converse charitably in the Holy Ghost.
- D. Die daily to the vanities of the world.
- E. Escape effectually from the pollutions of the Flesh.
- F. Fight firmly against the wiles of the Devil.
- G. Give generously to thy neighbour's necessity.
- H. Help heartily in thy neighbour's affliction.
- J. Judge justly thy neighbour's reply.
- K. Keep kindly the secrets of a friend.
- L. Listen lovingly to reproaches of an enemy.
- M. Mark modestly the speeches of a stranger.
- N. Number neatly the actions of the day.

[*Cætera desunt.*]

Monday, November 9th, 1730. At Sam Clowes' last night with Brother Byrom. Phœbe had a fit of her ague . . .

In the parlour reading this morning Erasmus on the LXXXvth Psalm.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *ante*, vol. i. p. 91. My transcript has "Cate."

<sup>2</sup> The Warrington contingent.

<sup>3</sup> Probably the Mr. Charles Brown who appears frequently in Byrom's *Diary*. (Cf. *Remains*, i. 364, *et al.*)

<sup>4</sup> Mrs. Byrom's youngest brother, who died in 1740.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Remains*, i. 314.

<sup>6</sup> I have no clue to the meaning of this, if correctly transcribed. The transcript has "four pegs of Mr. Lime."

<sup>7</sup> This fancy reminds us of "*Chaucer's A.B.C., called 'La Prière de Nostre Dame.'*"

<sup>8</sup> *Erasmi Concionalis interpretatio in Psalmum lxxv.* (8vo, Basel, 1528) is in Byrom's

From the very first beginning of [Christianity<sup>1</sup> and ?] the spreading of that glorious system of life and immortality, good and pious men have declared against that sink of corruption, the stage.<sup>2</sup> [Supported by]<sup>3</sup> sense and reason superior to the weight and learning of Philosophy, they demonstrated the exceeding great folly and mischief which preceded and attended [these] pernicious entertainments, the manifold inconsistencies of acting or [presenting]<sup>4</sup> them with the perfection of acting, the full nature and tendency of them to destroy all religion, good [?],—in a word, the absolute unloveliness of them.

Mr. Johnson called while I was writing this ; and I read it to him.<sup>5</sup>

Thursday, November 12th. Willy Chaddock who came to town on Tuesday last, and Brother Byrom<sup>6</sup> drank tea with me yesterday in the afternoon, and we talked about religion. Were at Mrs. Battersby's last night. Mr. Clayton there, his only pun, the woman at the Cross<sup>7</sup> scolding and her speech to Mr. Battersby: "I wonder at Mr. B., ye who are such a religious man!" Young Sherbrooke<sup>8</sup> came to Father Byrom's three or four days ago. Wrote a letter to my wife yesterday, to borrow *Telemachus* or *The Tatler*; she took the first volume of the last for him.

Gave Miss Bull a lecture upon conversation last night at the Cross, where I supped. Read Hales' *Sermons of Eton*<sup>9</sup> yesterday; very good, I thought, in their way. Now reading Lactantius.<sup>10</sup>

Library. (See *Catalogue*, p. 80.) It is dedicated to John Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, who had repeatedly urged Erasmus to compose a commentary on the *Book of Psalms*.

<sup>1</sup> *Transcript*: "Creation."

<sup>2</sup> This shorthand entry follows, without date or link, upon a series of quotations from Erasmus continued through several pages. It is possibly Byrom's own production, but probably taken from some more thorough-going fanatic. As to Byrom's opinions concerning the stage, cf. *ante*, i. 139, *et al.*

<sup>3</sup> *Transcript*: "Unsupported."

<sup>4</sup> *Transcript*: "frequenting."

<sup>5</sup> If, as seems probable, this was Mr. Samuel Johnson, the author of *Hurliothrumbo* and *The Cheshire Comics*, the coincidence was certainly striking.

<sup>6</sup> Josiah Byrom.

<sup>7</sup> The Market-Cross.

<sup>8</sup> I do not know who "young Sherbrooke" was.

<sup>9</sup> *Sermons preached at Eton, &c.*, fol., 1660. There was a second edition in 1672.

<sup>10</sup> There are three editions of Lactantius in Byrom's Library. (See *Catalogue*, p.

Friday, November 13th, 1730. Yesterday afternoon a note from Mr. Whitehall,<sup>1</sup> that he is coming to town on purpose to see me. I went to him, and he and Mr. Chaddock and Dr. Mainwaring drank tea with me, and we were at Dr. Mainwaring's, he and I, at night; he breakfasted with me this morning; I drank a dish of coffee at the Merchants' Coffee-house before. The Grand Seigneur [*sic*] deposed, caused by a common foot-soldier that pretended to be a private, or to have seen visions, running with the tattered standard and crying: "Let all true Mussel-men [*sic*] follow!"<sup>2</sup> Mr. Whitehall went out of town before dinner; Mr. Pigot met me in the street, and told me that they had gained a point last night upon Sir Os. Mosley, who had promised to oppose the Work-house.<sup>3</sup>

Messrs. Hunter,<sup>4</sup> Vigor,<sup>5</sup> Nield there; Messrs. Thomas and John Clowes<sup>6</sup> here this afternoon; Dr. Telfer<sup>7</sup> sent for me to Dr. Holbrook.<sup>8</sup> 'Tis about Capt. Lancaster's Mortgage; "the Devil take the seller man," &c. I was at Dr. D——n's<sup>9</sup> a little time. The Grand Seignior's deposing. Canterbury case.<sup>10</sup> At Mr. Legh's, where Mr. Fielding<sup>11</sup> was

126.) It is unnecessary to enquire whether Byrom was attracted to this prolific and much-read writer by the beauty and correctness of his style, or by the suspicion of heterodoxy which came to attach to him. A number of quotations in longhand follow on this entry.

<sup>1</sup> Of Furnival's Inn (cf. *Remains*, i. 444).

<sup>2</sup> Sultan Ahmed III. was deposed, by a revolt of the Janissaries, on October 2nd, 1730. He died six years later in confinement, it was said by poison.

<sup>3</sup> Although he was a Whig, and the Workhouse Bill favoured his party.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Remains*, i. 45, and ii. 44. He seems to have been a patient of Byrom's, as well as his landlord.

<sup>5</sup> No doubt Joseph Vigor of Manchester, as to whose connexion by marriage with Byrom see *Remains*, i. 384, *note*.

<sup>6</sup> As to the Clowes family, among whom, together with "the Alderman" (Joseph) and others, a "Tom" and a "John" are mentioned in the *Remains*, see *Lives of the Fellows, &c., of the College of Manchester*, 322 *seqq.*

<sup>7</sup> I cannot identify "Dr. Telfer," unless this be a misprint for "Dr. Tessier." (See *Remains*, i. 182, *et al.*)

<sup>8</sup> See *Remains*, i. 55, *note*.

<sup>9</sup> Dr. Deacon's.

<sup>10</sup> I do not know what "Canterbury Case" (if this be a correct transcript) or "Canterbury Act" is in question.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. *Remains*, i. 482, 487.

and Mr. Shrigley<sup>1</sup> came. Young Mr. Shrigley said Sir Oswald Mosley had promised to open the Act for the Workhouse, and to come away. That old Mr. Reynolds<sup>2</sup> had sent a silver font to Strangeways. Mr. Legh said, the words of the Canterbury Act that said the profits should go to the Workhouse were left out.

Saturday, November 14th. Our son Edward, who bled his nose into the milk, and coming upstairs with Beppy, who told us of it, he making no other defence but by saying he could not help it, which was adding a lie to his crime,—I told him he forced me to whip him; so I took him downstairs, and in the Great Parlour gave him some correction, and reasoned with him about the matter; he promised amendment.

Reading Lactantius. The whole passage against human learning being food for religion.<sup>3</sup>

November 16th, 1730.

Good Madam, take care of this, and particular of the pitchfork; I would not pay 100 guineas for it. Mr. Pigot says he thinks that the agents for the bill have enough of it.<sup>4</sup>

At the Merchants' Coffee-House on Monday the [16th?] inst. will begin the sale of Count Ore's[?] books.

[There follows a shorthand transcript of the conditions of sale of these books and MSS. "at the Canterbury Hotel the Stag's Head;" from which I may quote the stipulation that "if the meaning of any word or words are [*sic*] called in question, the Company shall decide by Bailey's *Dictionary*,<sup>5</sup> and if that says nothing of it, it shall be safe to give no answer at all to such impertinent question." The following entries, too long for complete transcription here, seem to be a record, whether authentic or not is more than I can guess, of "choice lots" in this mysterious sale: "*A Treatise* . . .

<sup>1</sup> "Young Mr. Shrigley" must be William Shrigley, who died Chaplain of the Collegiate Church. As to him and his father see *ib.*, i. 78, *note*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *ante*. Mr. Thomas Reynolds had succeeded to the large estates at Strangeways and elsewhere under the will of Miss Catherine Richards. His son became Lord Ducie.

<sup>3</sup> The passage referred to is possibly that on the definition of virtue, and on its relation to knowledge in Lactantius, *Divina Institutiones*, lib. vi., *de Vero Cultu*, c. 5. (Lactantii *Opera*, Leyden, 1670, pp. 559 *seqq.*)

<sup>4</sup> This rather enigmatic entry is preceded, on the first reverse page of the MS. book, by a receipt for Easter dues, and by an extract from a list of names of Byrom's shorthand subscribers at Trinity.

<sup>5</sup> N. Bailey, Geo. Gordon and Miller's *Dictionarium Britannicum; or, Complete Etymological English Dictionary*, fol., 1730.

*showing the obligations we are under to benefactors who will not oppress us any further than their power reaches ;" "The New Directory. A pig in a poke broke loose, &c."* (a local satire, with allusions to the Old and the New Church, the Workhouse and the Lord of the Manor); "*Account of the large Brass Medal found in the Town-field;*" which further effort of wit on similar local subjects appears to be excerpted at length.]

Wednesday, November 18th, 1730. Last night, Mr. Bower<sup>1</sup> called on me with regard to a house in the Square. There were Messrs. Nield, Lightbowne,<sup>2</sup> Pigot, Kenyon,<sup>3</sup> Illingworth,<sup>4</sup> Lloyd, Dickenson, Father Byrom, Lees,<sup>5</sup> Bonner [?], &c., and I. They met to consult what measures to take in respect to the Workhouse. Mr. Dickenson told us what Sir Edward Stanley<sup>6</sup> had said upon the journey that he had taken to see him: that he had thought there was no manner of occasion for any Act of Parliament; that the Court had a pique against him; that he had wrote to Mr. Chetham<sup>7</sup> that it was not fit to give such powers to the Trustees; that the Bishop<sup>8</sup> had done what he could by representing the town as disaffected; that Mr. Shrigley's letter last year had puzzled them, wherein he had written, that only a few presbyterians had signed a petition that was signed by many Churchmen, that they were much in the wrong about the subscription, that is to say, for subscribing.

It was agreed that Mr. Parker<sup>9</sup> should retain Mr. Fazakerly,<sup>10</sup> and also [whom] Mr. Fazakerly would have with him. Pigot mentioned Sir John Darnel,<sup>11</sup> and I said I knew him and many other members.

<sup>1</sup> Doubtless the active citizen Jeremiah Bower mentioned in *Remains*, i. 320, in connexion with the dispute about the Grammar-School Mills.

<sup>2</sup> See *Remains*, i. 156, *note*.

<sup>3</sup> Either Thomas or George. Cf. *ib.*, i. 440.

<sup>4</sup> See *ib.*

<sup>5</sup> Probably Mr. Jonathan Lees, one of the original subscribers to the Workhouse Scheme.

<sup>6</sup> M.P. for Lancaster 1727, and 1734-1736, when he succeeded as 11th Earl of Derby.

<sup>7</sup> Doubtless Mr. James Chetham, whom the original scheme, to which he subscribed £100, named as one of three persons who were to appoint eight trustees.

<sup>8</sup> Bishop P'eploe of Chester. For a succinct history of his relations to the Collegiate Church and the town see Canon Raines' *Wardens of the Collegiate Church*, 157 *seqq.* Cf. *ante*, *Appendix III.*, p. 575.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *Remains*, i. 460.

<sup>10</sup> Nicholas Fazakerly, M.P. for Preston. (See *ib.*, 443.)

<sup>11</sup> Sergeant-at-law. (Cf. *ib.*)

They desired I would undertake to manage matters, for which I should be a proper person; but I said I looked upon this endeavour to procure an Act to be of bad consequence to the town, if it succeeded, and therefore was ready to do anything to prevent it I could; that, when I was at London, I sometimes had an opportunity of talking about such things in private, which often went a great way. Uncle Parker was mentioned for solicitor. Lord Derby,<sup>1</sup> Mr. Legh of Lyme, Lord Galway<sup>2</sup> by Pigot, Warrington, &c. I had written by their direction at top of a paper, we whose names, &c., being named as Trustees. After that, I said I did not know but it might be as well to write only the names of the gentlemen who are for having an Act of Parliament, and the names of those who are not. They said that would do. I promised I would go to pay Sir Oswald Mosley a visit to-morrow, to try to get his hand.

At about 5 o'clock I went to go to Ancoats,<sup>3</sup> but met Sir Oswald Mosley by Mr. Yates'<sup>4</sup> house, and told him that I was going to pay him a visit. He asked me if I would see the Workhouse; and so we went there, where we talked the matter over; and upon the whole, if it was referred to him, he would soon say, whether he was for an Act or not. "If it was referred to you," said I, "you would say 'no,' would you not?" "Yes, I would," said he. He showed me a scheme of an Act of his drawing. I told him that the town were against an Act at all; that it was in vain to think of moderating this matter at all, it was Act or no Act; that he seemed to be against any Act at all, upon the whole, and therefore I would have him to be hearty on the matter, since his name would go a great way. He said, if two madmen should meet, must he take part, and be mad too? I said "no;" but he would let the madmen destroy each other, when we could take one side off by declaring his mind. I told him it was the Trojan [horse]<sup>5</sup>. . . We were together at the Merchants' Coffee-house, after he had been home with them on the other side, he and I and Will Shrigley,—and he was too much by one, He gave his hand to these words, that "the Trustees

<sup>1</sup> James, tenth Earl of Derby.

<sup>2</sup> My transcript has "Galway." But see *Remains*, i. 461.

<sup>3</sup> To Sir Oswald Mosley's.

<sup>4</sup> Joseph Yates. Cf. *Remains*, i. 177, *note*.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *infra*.

shall have nothing to do with the town money, but will act only as managers of a parish charity ;" under which he wrote : " I think this is very reasonable. OSWALD MOSLEY." Mr. Pigot and he drank a bottle of wine with me on Friday evening after, and he seemed to be more willing to oppose the Act ; but still, if they would alter it, he thought it better. Told us that he had told them that they could not succeed as it is ; that, if they pretended to meddle with the town money, or to set up a monopoly, he would oppose them heartily, and his brother Thornhaugh ;<sup>1</sup> and he mentioned Taylor-White,<sup>2</sup> Sir G. Heather ;<sup>3</sup> and he said he had hinted to them that they would make a monopoly business of it, if they were not opposed. Mentioned Mr. Chetham the Justice acting cunningly.

[There follows the transcript of a protest against the proposed Workhouse Act, coupled with a promise to subscribe certain sums in opposition to it, to be expended for the purpose by Mr. Joseph Byrom and other persons named in the document.]

Friday morning, November 20th, 1730. In the parlour. Just received a letter from Mr. Houghton, got to Cambridge.

" Dear Brother in Shorthand,<sup>4</sup>

I was extremely glad to hear of your safe arrival at Cambridge by Mr. Lydd,<sup>5</sup> who sent John to acquaint me with it on Sunday last. I received your letter this morning with an account of the opposition you suffer from your acquaintance, for acknowledging with Father Malebranche<sup>6</sup> that plain-souled and irreproachable truth, that we see all things in God. In Him all things really subsist ; in Him [is] all our capacity of seeing and understanding ; in Him we move and live and

<sup>1</sup> Sir Oswald Mosley was married to a daughter of John Thornhaugh of Fenton, Notts. (*Remains*, i. 161, *note*.)

<sup>2</sup> I venture to substitute " Taylor " for " Tom," the reading of my transcript. But it might be " John " White. (See *Remains*, ii. 24, *notes*, *et al.*)

<sup>3</sup> This is the reading of my transcript. Possibly Sir G[ilbert ?] Heathcote, Bart., may be in question, of whom I know nothing. (Cf. *Remains*, i. 296.)

<sup>4</sup> This letter is clearly a copy or draft of Byrom's reply.

<sup>5</sup> Possibly " Lynn." (Cf. *Remains*, i. 585.)

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *ante*, i. 77 *seqq.*

have our being. I am not under any apprehension that your acquaintances, with all their pretence to greater learning and philosophy, should ever be able to extort this faith from you, unless they can persuade you to covetousness and vain-glory, and so teach you to see all things in the world, or putting your own self to pleasure [and] sensuality, whereby you would fancy and see all things in foolishness, or to pride, malice and hypocrisy, whereby you would see all things in the Devil; for, while you maintain your sobriety, your honesty and your religion, you will reject all these false lights, and see Him Who is the True Light that enlighteneth every man, and in Him is no darkness at all.

Your merry friends may draw all the ridiculous considerations imaginable from this opinion; dissatisfying though we see all these ridiculous considerations in their own imagination,<sup>1</sup> being in the dark, they will see bugbears, and a thousand fantastical illusions will dance before them; whilst, if they conciliate universal reason, if you will listen to the secret inspirations of that Good Spirit which leadeth those who attend to it into [unto?] the Truth, and nothing but the truth, you will say of these things . . .<sup>2</sup> Hence they will fancy themselves to be wiser than you, because they see what you do not. Unless it please God to open the eyes of these philosophers, that they may see their own errors, you will have much wit and ado to escape their wit and satire, when it is exercised against rational and religious principle.

If I were to use this language to another, not initiated into the faith a little, it would be called formal canting, or enthusiastic frippery. I own, that I am so sick of that kind of philosophy that talks of nothing but figures and [essences?] sections and intersections, that amazes one with existences and subsistences, that establishes a blind nature, working wisely without intelligence, by virtue or secondary cause without regarding any first, that I would rather one would think that philosophy was excogitated by some atheist spirit as an art to exclude the consideration of God out of everything; for in effect it establishes a blind nature instead of a Providence, and I know not what secondary cause instead of the First and Only Cause for all things; it talks of figures and missions,

<sup>1</sup> This is obscure; possibly the transcript is at fault.

<sup>2</sup> There seems some omission here.

sections and intersections, with as much gravity as if our sanctification did depend upon them ; it fills us with essences, existences, substances and subsistences, as if there were no salvation without these hard words."

Saturday morning, November 21st, 1730. Sir Oswald Mosley and Mr. Pigot here last night, talking about the Workhouse. I supped at the Cross, Sister Dorothy<sup>1</sup> there. Talked about Mrs. Bourignon. Went thence to Mr. Lewis ;<sup>2</sup> to John Haddon, who was to go to Tom Egerton's<sup>3</sup> marriage this morning. Mr. Dickenson and Dr. Deacon, who stayed till eleven ; we till twelve. Mr. Dickenson said their side [is] not so hearty as they should be. Reading Virgil's story of the Trojan Horse, *Æn.*, II. 46-8 :

*"Aut hæc in nostros fabricata est machina muros,  
Inspectura domos, venturaque desuper urbi,  
Aut aliquis latet error."*

"Either this machine is contrived against our liberties, to [drag?] down our fences, to inspect our houses, to come over our town, or else there is some other mischief concealed in it." So said the true-hearted Trojan Laocoon, when he saw 110 of his townsmen considering, whether they should admit and suffer the famous Wooden Horse, which the Greeks had brought to obtain their own ends, for their own destruction to come into Troy their town, or not. And so said accordingly this Act of the projected building a Workhouse, which I hear the inhabitants view [in] the same [way] with reference to the town of Manchester, disputing about whether there is some mischief or other at the bottom of it. "At the bottom?" say you? Yea, at the very top, and most visible on the surface of it ; the mischief designed and intended by this Wooden Horse of ours, is written on the outside of it in characters one should think sufficiently legible and intelligible. Looking at the front of it, if your eyes are open and true, and see in gold letters the Greek word "Monopoly !" Look at the left side of it ! Look at the face of

<sup>1</sup> Byrom's eldest sister Dorothy, born 1682, died unmarried 1762.

<sup>2</sup> Byrom's "countryman," who assumed the part of "King Commons" in the political symposium recorded in *Remains*, i. 369. (Cf. *ib.*, 372.)

<sup>3</sup> Query, the subsequent Sir Thomas Grey Egerton, Bart., whose son, by his marriage with Catharine, daughter of the Rev. John Copley, was born in 1749, and afterwards became the first Earl of Wilton.

it ; where the Greeks profess themselves to be the principal inhabitants and proprietors of Troy ; under the heart of it I perceive in gold letters the Greek word " Monopoly ;" under the second and third ribs, a Corporation of Greeks for ever. For wise men of Greece should examine all 'Trojans upon oath,—a corporation of Greeks for ever.

[Some various readings, or notes, are interspersed and subsequently crossed through in the above ; and there follow the lines printed *ante*, i. 212, which are in themselves largely open to conjecture. The following entry appears to suggest a modification of the figure :]

The dissection of the dragon lately brought to Manchester College by the operator. When the Committee dissected it, it was surprised with the sight of a shapeless monster, and could make neither head nor tail of it, there was so much stuff about it.

[There follows a "*Copy of a Paper that Sir O. Mosley sent to me at the Fox, Wednesday night, December 2d.*" Its purport is a proposal to vest the management of the Workhouse in the Trustees by a Private Bill, or by a clause inserted in a Public Bill.]

Tuesday, November 24th, 1730. At the Library after dinner with Dr. Mainwaring to see the new books that were come in, "Calmet,"<sup>1</sup> &c., Mr. Lever there. Went home from thence. Sir Oswald Mosley called at our house for me. I saw him hereafter at the Merchants' Coffee-house, and he took me upstairs, and gave me this copy of an Act of Parliament for the Workhouse of his own drawing, desiring me to consider it.

[A copy of the Act follows, in which occur occasional unavoidable *lacunæ*.]

Wednesday, November 25th, Morning, Great Parlour. Considering Sir Oswald Mosley's paper which he gave me November 25th [24th], 1730.

Saturday, November 28th, 1730. On Wednesday 3 o'clock Sir Oswald Mosley called on me, and we walked to Strangeways, where were Mrs. Mosley—my Lady, I should say,—and her daughter and two Miss

<sup>1</sup> No doubt, Augustin Calmet's *Sacred and Profane Antiquities*, &c. (4to, London, 1724). See *Catalogue of Byrom's Library*, 45.

Leycesters. Sir Oswald Mosley and I drank a bottle together by ourselves, and talked about the Act of Parliament and Workhouse; and I stayed a little after Sir Oswald went, and then came away home to my house. Mr. Battersby, Clayton, N. Chaddock, and two brothers Byrom.

Yesterday Mrs. Malyn sent to me to desire I should go with them to Strangeways in their sister's coach; so, having forgot to mention Mrs. Banks the last time [I was] with them, I mentioned her this; and Mr. Reynolds gave me his word and honour that Mrs. Banks should have the second poor widow's place that was vacant, if she were qualified, the first being promised to a tenant's wife that had done the family great service, &c.

Being at the Merchants' Coffee-house, Sir Oswald Mosley sent for me upstairs and talked with me about the Act. Told me, he thought of communicating it to some of the gentleman; that we should wait on him on Monday. I called at Mr. Lees', and afterwards supped there, and stayed till about eleven o'clock. They were examining at the Merchants' Coffee-house a letter, to be sent to [Hamer of Brandlesholme?],<sup>1</sup> threatening to fire his house, murder him, if he did not pay money. It is morning, Josiah here. He took Sir Oswald Mosley's Act for his [afternoon] reading.

Saturday, December [12th], 1730. Willy Chaddock and I walked to Kersal. Mrs. Byrom and I supped at Mr. Booth's.<sup>2</sup> Mr. Heyward,<sup>3</sup> Dawson,<sup>4</sup> Parr,<sup>5</sup> Chaddock, &c. Reading Nicolaus *de Siglis*<sup>6</sup> for a silent alphabet.

Monday, December 14th, 1730. Looking among my papers I light upon Mr. Worthington's<sup>7</sup> paper that he lent me at last; for I had mislaid it and wanted it much to give him again. This is a copy of it.

<sup>1</sup> This is Mr. C. W. Sutton's ingenious conjecture for a very obscure reading of my transcript. Brandlesholme is, or was, near Bury.

<sup>2</sup> As to Mr. Robert Booth (if he was the person intended) and his family, see *Remains*, ii. 397, *note*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *ante*, i. 85.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Remains*, i. 178, *note*.

<sup>5</sup> I do not know who this was, or whether the name is correctly transcribed. Query "Parnam" or "Parneham" (see *Remains*, *passim*).

<sup>6</sup> J. Nicolaus, *Tractatus de Siglis Veterum*, Lugd. Bat., 1703. 4to. In Byrom's Library. (See *Catalogue*, p. 161.)

<sup>7</sup> Possibly Mr. Worthington of Peterhouse, the son of Dr. Worthington who died early in 1739, or thereabouts. (See *Remains*, ii. 212.)

[I reprint it here, as, in the opinion of the late Dr. Westby Gibson, of interest in connexion with the history of Shorthand. Both Dalgarno and Hartland were inventors of systems of the art.

*An Extract of Mr. Dalgarno's letter, written to Mr. Hartland, Oxford, May 28th, 1657.*

"I hope shortly, God willing, to come to London, but cannot as yet condescend upon the particular time. Wherefore [?], I approve much of your Shorthand, and advise for deferring to attempt anything for my private accommodation, till I bee first personally presente myselfe and have given more particular assistance as to my undertaking both to yourselfe and all other ingenious spirits to whome you shall be pleased to recommend me. For by this meanes you and they both can bee able with the more confidence [to] appeare for me and act in my behalf. I am most anxiously solicitous to have an acquaintance with the person of quality you write of, who would not have been knowen to have travailed so much for the bringing-forth of a Real or Universal Character. It is very probable that the comparing of our designes should give a great deale of private assistance to bothe ourselves, and likewise conduce much to the advancing of public good. And for the more effectual answering of them to this mutual correspondence, I have enclosed here, to be presented unto him, some few lines of practice, comprehending some few verses of the xvth Chapter of John's Gospel. If he pleases to return me the said verses in his Character, though it bee impossible that wee can discover in [?] another's art and rules by those [?], yet we can have a great conjecture what is the different way and method betwixt us in the general. Hee shall not feare that his character shall bee seene by any other creature, if he signifie soe much of his desires to will. As to the other branch of my undertaking, all the account I am able to give of it at this present is only this, in the general, that I shall make it appeare to bee every way as feasible and practicable as the other; for the most parte of the general rules shall be common to bothe the tables, the one shall serve for the other; the differences of the rules shall bee soe few, that he who shall take pains to learne the one of the arts and bring himselfe to perfection in it, in three days' time hee shall bee able perfectly to practise the other. And that this can bee done, I have ceased to boast [the] capacities to [those to] whome I have discovered nothing of the particulars of my designes. I could not give, therefore, assistance to any coarse [curious?] and inquisitive spirit, unless I could unfold the particulars of my method and rules, which would bee too tedious to doe heere soe distinctly that in many things I might not be misconstrued; but (God willing), I shall shortly strive to give assistance both to yourselfe and other worthy persons of our acquaintance."

[There follows Chapter xv. of the Gospel of St. John, copied out on the above system in three-and-a-half lines of shorthand; this is stated to be a very curious piece. The copy concludes:]

"Soe ends the 12th verse. I was to have continued [copied?] out the whole Chapter, but other pressing occasions did interrupt me."

This part of the letter I copy here at Abingdon's, February 4th, 1731, 12 o'clock. Mr. Pigot just called to tell me that Mr. Illingworth had

a letter from Manchester, that Mr. James Chetham and James Bailey was coming up; that Mr. Lightbowne said he thought the Curate<sup>1</sup> [?] was determined to have the Bill pass; That Mr. Smith<sup>2</sup> waited the permission of Mr. Lloyd, and would come up if he came, and desired me to attend with Mr. Lightbowne, but promised to be there at 3 o'clock. He had been with John Ward,<sup>3</sup> and got the case stated. Yesterday we were upon the Committee upon the Manchester Petition. Mr. Byrom<sup>4</sup> gave his evidence according to his short memory. I took down in Shorthand what I could.

Abington's, April 30th, 1731. The particulars of this I have taken notice of elsewhere. It was deferred at last, after carrying the amendment for an annual election [by] 91 to 62.<sup>5</sup>

Manchester, Saturday, July 31st, 1731. Mr. Lever, Prichard[?], Lloyd and I rode to Altrincham. Mr. Leycester, Swinton, Baskervyle,<sup>6</sup> Houghton and Peter Leigh<sup>7</sup> there. Talked of Malebranche, whom Mr. Prichard would put in durance vile, and about Foreknowledge. Mr. P. said, "I don't care to put objections that I cannot answer; I never heard of him (F. Malebranche) till about a quarter of a year ago."<sup>8</sup>

On Wednesday night last, Mr. Houghton, Thyer<sup>9</sup> and I came from Altrincham,<sup>10</sup> where we had been all . . . Went to Mr. Lloyd's, where the Shorthand folk were met, and Mr. Jenner,<sup>11</sup> Jones,<sup>12</sup> Nicolls<sup>13</sup> from Oxford there, the first, our brother Lloyd; the two last Mr. Jones

<sup>1</sup> Can this peradventure mean the Bishop?

<sup>2</sup> Not to be identified.

<sup>3</sup> The parliamentary agent mentioned, *Remains*, i. 455.

<sup>4</sup> Byrom's elder brother Edward, I presume.

<sup>5</sup> Or 91 to 63: see *Remains*, i. 487.—After three pages of literary extracts removed *to toto calo* from the Workhouse question there follow in the *MS.* the lines printed *ante*, i. 220-1.

<sup>6</sup> John Baskervyle. (Cf. *Remains*, i. 270, *note*.)

<sup>7</sup> Of Lyme. (See *ib.*, ii. 38, *note*.)

<sup>8</sup> Mr. Prichard would be worth identifying. As to Malebranche, and Byrom's enthusiasm about him, cf. *ante*, i. 77 *seqq.*

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *ante*, vol. i. p. 296.

<sup>10</sup> No doubt from a meeting of the Shorthand Club at "Bufton's."

<sup>11</sup> Stephen Jenner (cf. *Remains*, i. 326, *note*).

<sup>12</sup> See *ib.*, 337.

<sup>13</sup> Possibly Josiah Nicolls (*ib.*, 362. The name is spelt "Nichols" in the transcript.

[and Mr.] Nicolls entered, and I gave them half a piece<sup>1</sup> on Thursday, when they drank tea with me in the afternoon.

Monsieur Poirer<sup>2</sup> says that it is the Intercession of Jesus Christ that might have saved us without His death, &c. *Quare*, His death necessary to save us, as things fell out, but not necessary to appease God's wrath, being such an horrid act in them who killed Him (not necessarily for them with guilt) as must needs provoke God's wrath instead of appeasing it.

Saturday afternoon. Mr. Lever with me. . . . It thunders, &c., much.

Friday after Knutsford Races . . . Reading Spinoza this afternoon.<sup>3</sup> [Extracts follow.]

Saturday, twelve o'clock. Messrs. Thyer, Lloyd, Houghton called here, while we were at breakfast; and Mr. Prichard invited us to his lodging to-night.

Saturday, August [7th], 1731. Mr. Lever just called. He said they had been angry at him about breaking [?] the party about Shrigley, Thyer, &c.

The spelling rule occurs to my mind again. [The rest unintelligible.]

Tuesday, August 10th, 1731. Received a letter from one Mr. Whitthorne, fellow-clerk to Mr. Clark of the Temple.<sup>4</sup> At Mr. Whitthorne's, who has a mind to learn shorthand. [The rest unintelligible.]

[A long series of extracts follow, concerning God's Covenant, in connexion with the text *Genesis*, iii. 5.]

Let critics come in as Hewers of stony passages and Drawers of Etymologies!

Wednesday morning. At Dr. Mainwaring's.

[Extracts follow from Archbishop Wake's *St. Ignatius ad Trallianos*,<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Of shorthand.

<sup>2</sup> As to Pierre Poirer, the mystic divine and scholar, cf. *ante*, p. 86. A series of quotations from him as to Sacrifice ensue upon the next entry in the *MS.* book.

<sup>3</sup> Byrom's Library contains Spinoza's *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* (1674), also his *Opera Posthuma* (1679). See *Catalogue*, p. 205.

<sup>4</sup> I cannot elucidate this, supposing it to be correctly transcribed.

<sup>5</sup> In his edition, I presume, of the *Epistles of the Apostolical Fathers*. The *Epistle ad Trallianos* is one of the seven Ignatian epistles, the genuineness of which has been so warmly disputed and defended; eight other so-called letters of Ignatius are generally rejected.

and from Poiret's *La Paix des bonnes âmes*, on the contrast between living faith and belief in the authenticated letter of Scripture.]

Thursday, August 12th, 1731. Dr. Chaddock's two daughters married to-day.

Friday morning, August 13th, 1731. The Irish Harper here.<sup>1</sup>

Saturday, [August] 14th. Mr. Walker<sup>2</sup> sent six partridges to Mrs. Byrom. Two sent to Father Byrom, one to Mrs. Vigor<sup>3</sup> and one to Mrs. Mainwaring.

Reading Poiret's account of Providence, &c.

August 20th, 1731. At breakfast. Brother Josiah and I walked to Halifax<sup>4</sup> on Monday last, stayed there Tuesday, and came home on Wednesday.

Mr. Benison<sup>5</sup> married this morning. At Mr. Lloyd's all the afternoon, with Messrs. Th[yer?], Illingworth and Houghton. Talk about religion.

August 17th, 1730. Sister Brearcliffe and Brother Edward Byrom, Sister Molly[?],<sup>6</sup> Messrs. Bullock, Bower, Gray[?], &c., went the [?] journey of pleasure to Buxton, &c. Mrs. K. Malyn at Mr. Br.'s.<sup>7</sup> I went with her, and borrowed the following book, which she had from Mr. Haddon, viz., *An Essay on Inspiration*, in 2 Parts, 1707, by [Benjamin] Bayly,<sup>8</sup> which I have a curiosity to read, because it is against A[ntoinette] Bourignon,<sup>9</sup> though chiefly against the Quakers. So Mr. Leslie. Now, A. B. has wrote herself against the Quakers expressly; and for a man to write a book against the Quakers, and *en passant*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *ante*, p. 595.

<sup>2</sup> One of Byrom's Shorthand sons. Cf. *Remains*, i. 439, *et al.*

<sup>3</sup> Query, the authoress of *Russian Letters* (1775); cf. *Remains*, i. 384, *note*.

<sup>4</sup> About thirty miles.

<sup>5</sup> Query, "Governor" Benison (*Remains*, i. 165; cf. *ib.*, 612)? Was he the "House Governor" of the Chetham Hospital?

<sup>6</sup> Byrom's sister-in-law Mary Houghton.

<sup>7</sup> Mr. Brearcliffe's. Cf. *ante*, p. 591, *note*.

<sup>8</sup> *An Essay on Inspiration*, by Benjamin Bayly, rector of St. James', Bristol, was published at London in 1707; a second edition followed in 1708. "The book is quoted by Watt, *Bibliotheca Britann.*, as '*Essay on Perspiration*.'" (See *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. iii. p. 448.)

<sup>9</sup> Extracts from Antoinette Bourignon's works, *Le Nouveau Ciel*, *L' Étoile du Matin*, &c., crowd this part of the MS. book, and Byrom actually commences an attempt at a chronological bibliography of the contents of the nineteen volumes of her collected works.

A. B., is as if he should write against the Ptolemaic System and therefrom confute Sir Isaac Newton.

*Remarks, as a body reads.*

The Preface, like most others formal enough and insignificant. He says: "How well I have acquitted myself, I am no manner of judge; I must leave that to the judgment of others;" and . . . adds: "I am sensible of my own defects."—This is silly and impertinent. Why does a man print what he has no manner of judgment about, nay what he has great doubt about and is sensible of its defects? But *aliter non fit* a modern preface. But I have not patience to read the book. I find, he only mentions her just at p. 6 and the three last; owns he has only read her *Letters* translated; and, in short, seems to know nothing of her,—not one place quoted, but that of "the Seed of the Woman, &c.," to be proof against her. But this is called demonstration!

*The Reverse of Mr. Leslie's Account of Antoinette Bourignon.<sup>1</sup>*

There has lately arrived upon our shores a most exalted piece of . . . Devotion, which promises great good to Christianity. It is justly entitled *The Light of the World*,<sup>2</sup> translated and recommended by some among ourselves, who had a sense of, and value for, the religion of Christ. It is some of the Works of an inspired Christian, a most extraordinary good woman, Mrs. Antoinette Bourignon, published by Mr. Christian de Cort, a Roman Catholic, Superior of the Oratory, and Pastor of St. John's at Mechlin, and now turned into English, *a.* 1646. There are in it most profitable arguments to Devotion and Abstraction from the World; and the Spirit by which she was led does appear:

(1) in true and Christian humility;

<sup>1</sup> See the following note.

<sup>2</sup> *The Light of the World, a most true Relation of a Pilgrimage, Mme. Antonia Bourignon, travelling towards Eternity*, published by Christ. de Cort, with a Preface, 8vo, London, 1696.—*La Lumière du Monde* forms vol. vii. of the collected edition of her Works. The following pages, it need hardly be pointed out, are a parody—conceived in a spirit of enthusiastic appreciation of Mdle. Bourignon's teaching—of the celebrated attack upon her in the Preface to Charles Leslie's *The Snake in the Grass, or Satan Transform'd into an Angel of Light*, of which the third edition (1698) is in Byrom's Library (cf. *Catalogue*, p. 133). Space fails me for printing Leslie's attack side by side with Byrom's vindication, the earlier part of which closely follows the text which it contradicts.

(2) in regarding all outward [prescriptions?] and ordinances of the Gospel as the [signs?] and tokens of inward purity and [perfection?];

(3) in the height of charitableness, in endeavouring to persuade all the world to be saved;

(4) in truly representing the design and importance of our Saviour's death;

(5) in orthodox notions naturally agreeable to the Gospel;

(6) in her value for the Holy Scriptures;

(7) in other sublime and generous notions.

I intend not a thorough Disquisition of all this and other Particulars, which are as surprising as her true Revelations. That would require a Treatise, and because I hope the World will read the exact account of them by her own hand. But, for the present, I will give an instance or two upon each of the above particulars, that the reader may not be wholly postponed; and to give him a relish of those excellent dishes, which she has displayed with so much open freedom and light.

First, as to her humility. In the *Epistle to the English Reader*, p. 28, her transported disciple compares her, nay prefers her, to the Blessed Virgin; and "that her own sex may admire," says he, "the Goodness of God in choosing a Virgin for His Mother, and a Virgin to be the Organ of His Light and Spirit in this last Age of the World." Now, to be the Organ of His Light and Spirit is more than to be the Mother of His Human Body; as He Himself declares, when upon its being said, "Blessed are the paps which gave Thee suck," he answers, "Yea, rather, blessed are they that love the Word of God and keep it;"<sup>1</sup> which this humble and pious soul made it her business to do. It is told (p. 19) that she had immediate converse with God; that she asked questions of Him and received answers from Him, experiencing in herself what Scripture so often teaches, that God heareth and answereth the humble, but repelleth the proud (p. 17); that all she did was by immediate direction from God, and that God had hid in her all the treasures of His Wisdom, Who promises His Holy Spirit to them that humbly ask it; and (what proves this beyond all contradiction) that she spoke and wrote without preparation and without change of sentiment for forty years. The person who speaks here, says the *Admonition*, p. 33, is

<sup>1</sup> See *St. Luke*, xi. 27-8.

without study, even without reading and, what is more, without meditation ; there being no occasion for human learning, or taking thought how and what to speak upon, when Christians are taught by the Holy Spirit . . . And, though this may sound to be Quakerism to some who cry [out?] how Quakers have equalled themselves to the Holy Prophets and Apostles, and in some things have preferred themselves before them, and have exalted themselves far beyond all the Holy Fathers of the Church, and so did she!—yet this is plainly a misreading of her.

“Mr. De Cort, in his *Preface*, p. 41, says she did really explain the Scriptures so perfectly, that none of the Holy Fathers have ever so done, nor anybody since the Creation of the world. He does not say that she set herself above them ; nor does she anywhere set herself above them, much less above Christ Himself, or make her expositions of Scripture to be better than theirs or His. This is mere outcry, without any manner of foundation, to which this humble creature gives plain answer,—one that, if the reader will bear [it?] in mind, will be sufficient to answer all the objections that are usually made against her for rejecting any honour that might be paid to her. She says, p. 13: “I am nothing but a simple infant ; if God makes you to perceive His Graces by my means, it is to Him that you must pay the acknowledgments, and nothing to me ; for I am a [as?] nothing ; and, if He withdraw His Graces from me, I should be worse than nothing, in caring [?] myself to fill . . . which nothing can [not?] do. Behold the principle of her principles ! Who shall pretend to limit the influence of the Holy Spirit upon a soul thoroughly possessed with it? Have the Holy Prophets or Fathers of the Church exhausted God’s Graces?<sup>1</sup> Has not Jesus Christ Himself said, that he that believeth in Him should do as great works or even greater than He did ; because He went to the Father, and would send the Holy Spirit of Truth unto him. “I know the master-pieces,” says she, “of the works of God, and the completion of His Holy Scriptures.” This is a proof of her being inspired by the Spirit of God, by which, as the Apostle prayed, all his offences [shall be forgiven?] who “may be able to comprehend with all Saints, what is the breadth, and length, and depth, and height, and to know the Love of Christ, which passes all knowledge, and

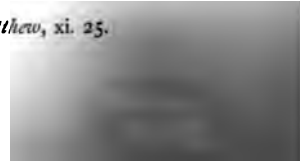
<sup>1</sup> “Graces,” in the sense of “gifts differing according to the grace that is given to us.” See *Romans*, xii. 6.

be filled with all the fulness of God."<sup>1</sup> And yet this humble creature, to whom it pleased God to manifest Himself in so ample a manner, takes confusion to herself in rendering all the glory to God . . . Who is able to do exceeding abundantly above all that we can ask or think, by His Power working in us. Her words are : " I may say with confusion, that it has pleased God to communicate His secrets to me, which He hath hid from the wise and great men of the world.<sup>2</sup> If such be His Will, who can reprehend Him, or think evil of what He thought good? Is He not absolutely Lord of all things? What He Wills, He can do without man's being able to contradict it ; because no person is capable of giving Him a law. He is as powerful as He is just and good ; let us only adore His designs ! Although I should be the most wicked creature in the world, He will make me subservient to Him in whatever He pleases, and damn me in the end, if I have deserved [it?]. All things being subject to Him of necessity, all things must obey Him as well,—infernial Powers and celestial and terrestrial ; nothing can resist His All-powerful Arm. I must bow down myself, Sir ; if God will declare His wonders by me, I cannot give Him any hindrance. If He would speak by a stone or a piece of wood, He ought to be heard with respect. I have not sued or demanded these things ; they are poured into my insensibility. Since I have been willing not to know any more, I have learned all things, even to the greatest mysteries of our faith, and all that shall befall men to the end of the world ; nothing has been hidden from me. I know the master-pieces of the works of God and the completion of the Holy Scriptures."

And she was taught of God ; for, as M. de Cort says (p. 41 of his *Preface*), that she never told them that she had read or learned them of anybody. And she says for herself, p. 131, that God had given her to understand . . . of all the Holy Scriptures without having read it all, or with intent to find out the meaning of it by her own study. [So] common-sense obliges one to interpret a saying that is quickly succeeded by this (p. 167) : " We [I?] have sometimes read the New Testament transiently, after having had permission of a certain Bishop ; but so soon as I began to read, I perceived in thus reading all my sentiments explained, so that, if I had been able to write the sentiments that I had

<sup>1</sup> *Ephesians*, iii. 18-19.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *St. Matthew*, xi. 25.



within my mind, I should have composed a book like that of the New Testament,—so altogether conformable did I find it; and that sometimes she was glad to set them to confirm her sentiment by their authority.” But, if people choose not to connect things together but to misunderstand her, who can help it? So, she does not say that she understands it better than all the Ancient Fathers,—these are not her words: [comparisons?] of herself with others are odious; therefore she avoids them; therefore, her enemies are always making them for her, to render her odious. What she says is this (p. 202): “It was not necessary that the Ancient Fathers should have understood all things; it was enough, that they understood what men had occasion for then. But since we approached the fulness of times, it is expedient for men at present to know what concerns their own times. Therefore, God now reveals the secrets which He would have then have kept in. When the Apostles demanded of Jesus Christ, when the things which He spoke of to them should come to pass, He answered them that it was not for them to know the times which the Father had in His power<sup>1</sup>—to show them that they were not to desire light before the time, and that it pertained to Him alone to know the time and hour of everything. Thus, He thought fit to reserve the understanding of the Scriptures till the necessary time which is at present; the Holy Fathers could not know then what He was pleased to reserve till now.” (Oh! Let us who have caused . . . .<sup>2</sup> of A. B.)

It could not have cost much to have laid these several quotations together, which makes “therefore” or this [“thus?”] fully intelligible; whereas this way of taking an author to pieces without necessity is what no author would care for, as it might prejudice a reader against him. And, therefore, no author should use but a few lines against imitating her follies. Another, with exclamations thereupon: “The prophets have indeed declared all that must come to pass, even to the end of the world. Neither they themselves nor any others understand their sayings”; which is very true, if we may believe a prophet’s own words. For the most noted prophecy of one [all?] of them in the whole Bible, that of *Daniel*, xii. 7, is what Daniel understood not. For he says (v. 8): “I heard, but I understood not”; as likewise God

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Acts*, i. 6-7.

<sup>2</sup> The intervening words are illegible.

hides and reveals in the manner He has asserted. For he adds : "Then said I, O my Lord, what shall be the end of these things?" And he was answered thus (v. 9) : "Go thy way, Daniel ; for the words are closed up and sealed till the time of the end." And that time is thought to be found by many learned men who differ from one another without any revelation [retribution?] being made upon [?] them for pretending to understand the Prophet Daniel's words better than he himself. And if the last interpretation of them which has been offered to the world by the Rev. Mr. Lancaster<sup>1</sup> should appear to be better than what "all the holy Prophets and Fathers" have ever yet given, ought not men rather to thank God for raising him up to give new light into this passage [of] Holy Scripture than to exclaim against them [him?] for understanding it better than all "those great men" the holy Fathers? But Mrs. Bourignon's crime is that she understood the Prophets' words better than themselves who wrote them, and that she never read them.

I intend not a thorough discourse ;<sup>2</sup> for all that and other particulars, which are as remarkable as the revelation which she says God gave her, would require a treatise, &c.

First, as to her humility, p. 13 of her book, she says to Mr. de Cort : "I hate two things, to wit honour and sin. You are a priest to my honour [?]; as for the doing, I am nothing but a simple child. If God makes you to perceive His Graces by me, it is to Him that you owe the acknowledgment of it, and nothing to me. For I am a nothing ; and if He withdraw His Graces from me, I shall be worse than nothing, and crying myself to fall [?], which *nothing* cannot do"; p. 14, that "humility is the foundation of all perfection, without which nothing can be esteemed"; that "moralities and prayers are but vanity and hypocrisy without humility, because God resisteth the proud, and to the humble He giveth His heart." And, being asked in what true humility consisteth, she said : "In the Knowledge of oneself ; because he that truly communes [with ?], 'knows' himself, can never attribute any good to himself either internal or spiritual ; because he will perceive really, that he has not the power to make a hair to grow upon his head, nor to give

<sup>1</sup> As to Mr. Peter Lancaster (Vicar of Bowdon), author of *A Chronological Essay on the IXth Chapter of Daniel* (1722), see *ante*, pp. 282-3.

<sup>2</sup> Byrom here repeats Leslie's introductory phrases.

himself one day of health, or one moment of life, &c." And, p. 39, showing the mischiefs that have arisen from learned folks introducing their idle debates and endless questions and controversies into religion, which had nothing to do with it, she says, very justly, that "in thinking to reform the Church she had rather *deformed* it to the doctrine of Jesus, requiring rather an humility to the heart than great philosophy ; for the evangelical simplicity has more in it of true wisdom than all the things the world can acquire in schools and universities";—a sentiment which, however true, primitive and apostolical, must naturally set all the doings [doctors? beings?] in the world that value themselves upon their learning against her.

And, p. 77, exposing the papistical doctrine of sinning and confessing, confessing and sinning, again and again, without obeying the words of Christ: "Go and sin no more,"<sup>1</sup> she says thus: "It would be in vain that Jesus Christ suffered and endured so much for to teach us humility, patience, penitence and the rest, if those confessors with an '*absolvo*' could so pardon our sins, offering [?] one might live at his liberty,—as men indeed do without much troubling themselves about God ; since one might obtain salvation by means of a man that should call himself a saviour and pardoner of sins . . . One must have entirely lost all judgment not to discover this deceit ; while, nevertheless, so many persons live and die in this blindness. These are [in?] darknesses more thick than were those of Egypt."

And, p. 261, speaking of the glorious reign of Jesus Christ, to [those?] that would comprehend its mystery, the Gospel [of the] Kingdom of Heaven, she recommends humility. "Anybody," she says, "can do [know?] it or be ignorant of it, [provided] that he [is] willing to submit his mind to God with humility of heart. This is a way which the Gospel recommends,"—and the way that she took.

Secondly, as to the second point, as to her recognising inward priesthood and ordinance of the Gospel. Thus, in the quotation, p. 13, before-mentioned, she says to Mr. De Cort: "You are a priest to mine honour, as due for the doing, *i.e.* for the doing of your office of priesthood." And, p. 24: In answer to this very question, whether she did or did not esteem priests and direction of souls, she replies: "Yes, Sir! I

<sup>1</sup> St. John, viii. 11.

honour and esteem true priests, because they ought to be the vicegerents of God to distribute to the ignorant the points of faith and the doctrines of Jesus Christ ; which is the portion of all Christian souls." She had so much respect for their authority, that she had not so much as read the New Testament without their licence ; for she did not read it at all. "I have sometimes read," says she, "after having had the permission of a certain Bishop" (p. 197). And, as to outward circumstances, she says, p. 79 : "I have practised frequent confessions, and all other devotions particular to Christians, as my relations did with an exact observance."<sup>1</sup>

*A Copy of a Letter to Mr. Haddon, in the beginning of Mr. Bayly's  
book about Inspiration.<sup>2</sup>*

"Rev. Sir,

Having a good opinion of Mrs. A. B. and her writings, I was glad to meet with this Treatise, in hopes of discovering my error by it, if it was one. I must confess, that it had a quite different effect upon me. I have by me all those works in the original, of which this gentleman had seen but a very small part in translation ; and I judge that he did not sufficiently attend even to that : because he must either have discovered stronger reasons against her than he has mentioned, or, that not meeting with them would have been a strong reason with him to have let her alone,—if not to have spoken for her : which seems to be the most natural effect that Christianity, so plainly taught and practised as it appears to have been by this lady, must have upon fair and unprejudiced readers.

"Seeing that somebody else had written some reflexions upon the margin on some passages, I could not forbear adding others on those relating to her ; whereby I have not spoiled, but increased, the value

<sup>1</sup> On the pages (reverse pages of the *MS.*) which follow upon the preceding entry are written, partly in longhand, partly in shorthand, the lines : "*Heu pietas ! &c.*" (*ante*, 560) ; and the following pieces : "*O Thou Whose Powerful Word, &c.*" (*ante*, 69) ; "*True, Leslie was a great divine, &c.*" (*ante*, 67) ; "*Churchmen are orthodox, &c.*" (*ante*, 70) ; the last under the date "November, about the 25th, 1730."

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *ante*, 618. In the *MS.* book this letter, which I print here on account of its internal connexion with the foregoing pages, is preceded by what seems to be the first draft of its opening sentences.—As to Mr. John Haddon (rector of Warrington) cf. *ante*, i. 85.

of the book, inasmuch as it may now perhaps excite some reader's curiosity to consult and do justice to her sentiments, which before they would probably be tempted to overlook and speak ill of. Imagine, that Thomas à Kempis, or any other fallible piece of Christian life and doctrine, had by some conceited author been so treated as A. B. has been, and that a marginal note or two was in proper places inserted to undeceive the reader with, 'Excuse me, I had thoughts of making other remarks upon other places; but, it being needless and sideless, as we say (the margin not affording room), to observe upon all the false notions of inspiration which may be here advanced, forbear thinking it safe,—if I could but put in a *caveat* in favour of A. B., that being the point wherein one may often observe this book to be full of contradictions to itself.'

"I doubt not but you may have seen Mr. Leslie's Preface to his *Snake in the Grass*, which is all against A. B. The book is against the Quakers. Give me leave to . . . upon my own copying the passages quoted by him to support the bitter charge of proud enthusiasm, heresy, blasphemy, devilry and what not, that they give no manner of cause for such extraordinary accusations but what must be founded upon a most partial and unjust construction of them. Let silly, idle people talk by hearsay about this good woman, as their own fancied wit, and real darkness and folly, shall move them; but do not you, whose better sense and honourable situation forbid it, join in any accord in examining [emitting?] random censure of a person speaking in the Name of God, and living in the Life of Christ, only because such rare and excellent doctrine and behaviour is counted for 'enthusiasm,'—a word belonging, in its present meaning, not to the reality but to the pretences of inspiration, and not to them neither, till they appear to be pretences upon fair examination. If I judge wrong, I beg of you to show me how. I have no interest or prejudice that I know of, that shall stop my ears against your better reason. The outcries and mistakes in this book I cannot approve of.

Yours,

J. B."

In the *Preface*, p. 4, at the words "Mrs. Bourignon," this lady is introduced as giving occasion to his whole book, though the author says very little of her, and knows less. If a man will undertake a thing in

which he owns himself that he has no manner of judgment, he must certainly acquit himself very ill.

*On the Contents [?] of Mrs. Bourignon, with Remarks in the margin.*

P. 6, A. If by "old Church" is meant the Church of England, she says nothing on it, her design being to make men of all persuasions unite in the Spirit, the Love, the Sufferings, the Doctrine, the Discipline, —in short, the Church, of Christ; and to draw them off from their learned and foolish disputes to the practice of the Evangelical Counsels of renouncing the World.<sup>1</sup>

August, 21st, 1731. Mr. Preachhard [*sic*]<sup>2</sup> called here, while we were at breakfast; drank some tea with us; was going to Buxton, and not to Darcy Lever's; so Mr. Lloyd wrote a letter to let him know.<sup>3</sup>

[Extracts from Malebranche, and from the *Clementines*.]

Friday, August 1731. Mr. Booth and Miss Kenyon married this morning.<sup>4</sup> Mr. Johnson just come in from Ch. Stanhope,<sup>5</sup> who desires . . . Last night . . . my thirteen Sons<sup>6</sup>: Messrs. Leycester, Barneston,<sup>7</sup> Houghton, Lloyd, Darcy Lever, at the old C[lub] H[ou]s[e].

Tuesday last Mr. Lloyd and I walked over to Kersal, and I brought [my] Lady home, who walked it, being carried a little, towards Strangeways; but he was much tired, and has had since a fever, and looks as if he would break out [into] something; and the small-pox being in the street, Mrs. Byrom apprehends that it may be that; but it looks like some rash-like matter . . . His skin peeled all off him; he had caught it at Kersal probably, for Mrs. Byrom had had the same and Mrs. Dolly after.

<sup>1</sup> This entry is succeeded by a series of quotations, with the couplet printed *ante*, 71, under the title "*False Happiness*."

<sup>2</sup> I venture to think this is Mr. Prichard (if this be the right reading), the potential Torquemada mentioned *ante*, 616.

<sup>3</sup> There follow the words "*Credo, confido*," &c., and the couplet printed *ante*, 563, under the title "*The Human Will*."

<sup>4</sup> Mr. Robert Booth of Salford (see *Remains*, ii. 397), married Anne, sister of Mr. George Kenyon of Peele, and aunt of Mary Kenyon, who married her kinsman Mr. Lloyd Kenyon, afterwards Lord Kenyon of Gredington.—I owe this information to the kindness of Mr. C. T. Tallent-Bateman.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *ante*, i. 579 *sqq.* <sup>6</sup> In Shorthand. <sup>7</sup> Of Trinity College. (*Remains*, i. 265.)

[Jottings on the petitions of the Lord's Prayer, &c. ; ending with the headings prefixed :

*Faith* : Our Father, &c.

*Hope* : Thy Kingdom come.

*Charity* : Thy Will be done.

*Temperance* : Give us this day our daily bread.

*Justice* : And forgive us our trespasses, &c.

*Fortitude* : And lead us not into temptation.

*Prudence* : Deliver us from evil.]

Taken August 17th, 1731.

[This entry is followed by a long list of names, probably of Shorthand pupils, who had paid their *honorarium*.]

Sunday, August 29th, 1731. Old Fellow Assheton<sup>1</sup> died yesterday, and Mr. Cattell,<sup>2</sup> they say, is sent with the news to Mr. Copley,<sup>3</sup> &c.

Teddy's rash or miliary blisters (as I take 'em to be) fall off. He was restless in the night much after the miliary<sup>4</sup> . . . has been favourably [?] feverish all along ; "sacrificed to his father's humour," say they at G—r—s.<sup>5</sup>

After sermon, evening, reading Barclay, p. 390 : "We see that when the Devil confessed to the Truth, yet Christ would have none of his Testimony."<sup>5</sup> This is not so pertinent to his purpose, yet true, &c.,

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Robert Assheton, Chaplain of the Collegiate Church from 1699, and Fellow from 1703, died August 31st, 1731, and was on September 27th of the same year succeeded by his son Mr. Richard Assheton. (See Canon Raines' *Fellows of the Collegiate Church*, 205 *seqq* ; 219 ; cf. *ante*, 585.)

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *ante*, vol. i. 45.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. John Copley, Fellow of the Collegiate Church, 1703–1732 (See Canon Raines, *u.s.*, 203–5.) He was connected with Byrom by marriage.

<sup>4</sup> *Quære*, Grandfather's?—*i.e.* "Father Byrom's," who was Teddy's maternal grandfather, and from some of the members of whose family Dr. Byrom's treatment of his son's miliary fever may be supposed to have met with reproachful criticism.

<sup>5</sup> This passage actually occurs on p. 390 of the copy of Robert Barclay's *Apology* (4th edn., 1701) still preserved among Byrom's books in his *Library* (cf. *Catalogue*, p. 16.), viz. in § xix. of *Proposition xi., concerning Worship*, where it is intended to support the contention that prepared and premeditated preaching is contrary to the Doctrine of Christ, but that preaching what is revealed to the preacher is in conformity thereunto.

though Peter's confession, being the very same, pleased Him, and He built His Church upon it.<sup>1</sup>

[Extracts from Cusanus; and notes concerning the identity of Thomas à Kempis, &c.]

Tuesday, August 31st. Sister Byrom and Brother Byrom came last night from Halifax; saw Mr. Copley in his litter on Blackstone Edge<sup>2</sup> coming here in relation to the election in the room of Mr. Assheton.<sup>3</sup>

[Notes concerning Thomas à Kempis, Gerson, &c., interspersed with some apparently haphazard "conjectures" which it would be unfair to attempt to reproduce as they stood.]

Friday, September 3rd, 1731.<sup>4</sup> Yesterday at Altrincham. Messrs. Leycester, Swinton, Baskervyle, Egerton<sup>5</sup> and Peter Legh, Lloyd, Houghton, Bradshaw, Lever, Prichard. Most of the talk was about Mrs. Bourignon, and they said I was obliged to translate her, and would subscribe. Egerton Legh said she was a very good woman. Prichard wished her hanged when she was twelve years old.<sup>6</sup>

At Mr. Lloyd's at night; Prichard, Lever, Houghton. Prichard's system of enjoying. [?] I repeated "*Nullà tu, &c.*," and, now, from a passage in Mrs. B[ourignon] (*vid.* Juvenal, *Sat.* [vi. 630]: "*Custodite animos et nulli credite mensæ*").

Mr. Litbn. [*quære*, Lightbowne?] came to town.

Sunday morning, 5 o'clock, September 5th, 1731. Mrs. Byrom sore throat, and myself a cold; so I got up at four, and am now sitting in the chair by the fire-side, reading Mrs. Bourignon; "*la souffrance un remède ?*" &c.

[Extracts follow.]

<sup>1</sup> Compare *St. Matthew*, iv. 3-11 (?) and *ib.*, xvii. 13-19. Here follows the rendering in Latin verse of the Lord's Prayer, for which see *ante*, 564.

<sup>2</sup> The range of hills separating the hundred of Salford from Yorkshire, and according to S. R. Clarke's *New Lancashire Gazetteer* (1830) "sometimes called the Backbone of England, at other times the English Appennines."

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *ante*, p. 629.

<sup>4</sup> This is clearly the right date of the above entry, though instead of it by a slip is written "1730."

<sup>5</sup> The Ven. Egerton Legh, Archdeacon of Salop. (See *Remains*, i. 440, *note.*)

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *ante*, pp. 565 and 616.

September 6th, 1731. Out at Collyhurst<sup>1</sup> . . . Mr. John Lever, Miss [?] Fanny and Madam supped there. Writ, after, shorthand, and I with Mr. John about being better acquainted with his brother Power [?] and with, &c. Walked home between eleven and twelve. Thought of A. B.,<sup>2</sup> &c.

Library, to-day, September, 1731. Mrs. D[ea]c[o]n brought to bed this morning of a girl. Mrs. Byrom and I through the day, went with Doctor to Mr. Lightbowne's. Mr. Houghton here this morning; talked about their going to Paris.

[Several pages of extracts from patristic literature here intervene.]

Thursday, September 16th. In the Great Parlour by the fire; Mrs. Byrom gone to Assembly. Reading Mrs. B[ourignon]. Since a little danger takes the stomach<sup>3</sup> away, why should not the danger of salvation being lost have its effect?—Is not damnation = condemnation? If we love it not, why practise it in cursing or condemning judgment on another?<sup>4</sup>

Friday, September 17th, 1731. Josiah called on me at six o'clock. Mr. Prichard at breakfast. Lloyd and I brought Houghton to boat (bö-ät).<sup>5</sup> Talked of the journey, as we came back. Lloyd said somewhat of my talking amiss. I told him, there was no such thing; his Father had said, "If I would love Him as He loved me," &c.<sup>6</sup> Talked of going next. I bade him not let me hinder them. We read the latter part of Mr. De Cort's Preface, &c., in the Great Parlour. Mrs. Byrom and I . . . Took the Preface, which Mr. Walker<sup>7</sup> brought, home to Kersal. "O my God, I believe in Thee, strengthen my faith!"

Mrs. Byrom desired me to read up, and so I did. Ned would cast accounts. I gave him this table, which he said he loved.

<sup>1</sup> Collyhurst Hall near Manchester was the seat in turn of members of the Mosley and of the Lever families.

<sup>2</sup> Antoinette Bourignon.

<sup>3</sup> *I.e.*, courage.

<sup>4</sup> Here follow, after an extract from Mdlle. Bourignon's *Le Nouveau Ciel et la Nouvelle Terre*, the lines "Profound Humility," &c.; see *ante*, 63.

<sup>5</sup> There appears to be here some allusion to Lancashire pronunciation.

<sup>6</sup> The reference seems to be to *St. John*, xiv. 21 *seqq.*

<sup>7</sup> One of Byrom's Shorthand pupils. (*Remains*, i. 439, *et al.*)

[What seem to be jottings intended to recall the nature of this table or scheme, are added.]

Saturday, one o'clock. Library. Mr. Lever there.

[Extracts from S. Columbani *Monasticon*, and from the Benedictine Ludovicus Blosius, with what look like passages translated from the latter.]

Monday, September 19th, 1731. Fair Day, &c. Library.

John Ball<sup>1</sup> and his wife, and Mr. and Mrs. Booth,<sup>2</sup> came in here.

September 21st. To-day Mr. Houghton breakfasted with us. [He] goes to-morrow to London with Mr. Lloyd, and so to Paris, &c. Library.

[Quotations from Plotinus, &c.]

The speech of the River: "Did God make me only to wash the dirty feet in my poor stream?" "No, but to teach thee Universal Charity," says the Sun.

Friday, September, 1731. Yesterday I went to Buxton with friend[s] Houghton and Lloyd on their way to Cambridge, London [and] Paris, and came home to-day, three o'clock. Dined at Widow Newton's [?]. Lloyd to Stopford Moor Cross,<sup>3</sup> Mr. Bowes,<sup>4</sup> &c. Mr. Walker just been here.<sup>5</sup>

Saturday, September, 1731. Library.

[Extracts apparently from R. Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln]<sup>6</sup>

Sunday, September 26th. . . . Banks<sup>7</sup> came to the . . . and said,

<sup>1</sup> *Quære*, Mr. Ball of St. John's (*Remains*, i. 392)? A Mr. Balls is frequently mentioned among Byrom's pupils, and there may be an oversight in the transcript.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *ante*, 628.

<sup>3</sup> I can find no reference to this locality.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Remains*, i. 209.

<sup>5</sup> There follow the Latin distichs printed *ante*, 556-7, under the title "*Self-Surrender to God*."

<sup>6</sup> Byrom's Library (see *Catalogue*, p. 98) contains a copy of this famous Bishop's tractate *de Cessatione Legalium*—an argument against the endurance of the authority of ceremonial law.

<sup>7</sup> My transcript has: "He Ellen Banks."

Mr. Reynolds had sent for me to dinner. I went after dinner, four o'clock; stayed till twelve, &c. Mr. Downes<sup>1</sup> preached to-day in the Old Church on *Numbers*, vii. 8.<sup>2</sup>

Jos. Scot<sup>3</sup> just been here; said he had . . . for the principle for the two [?] years against the Bishop of Lichfield.<sup>4</sup> Reading Mrs. Bourignon.<sup>5</sup>

September 27th, 1731, Sunday. Jo. Scot at breakfast with us. Mr. Assheton chosen Fellow.

[Extracts from Eusebius, Porphyrius, &c.]

Thursday, September 30th. A coursing with Cousin Clowes down at Kersal, &c. The Shorthand Club at Mr. Battersby's, Messrs. Bradshaw, Walker, E. Byrom, Clayton . . .

*Quere, num quidquid dicat verax sit verum, mendax mendacium?*

[Scriptural passages concerning "Faith."]

Library, Friday, October 1st. Thinking.

[A long series of patristic extracts follows.]

Sunday, October. Mrs. Byrom at Assembly. I stayed in this morning, now reading Mr. Clayton's Old English Translation of the New Testament,<sup>6</sup> that he is going to present to Mr. Leigh of Lyme, *The Dedis of Apostlis*, &c., which come after *The Epistle to the Hebrews*.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Joseph Downes, one of the Chaplains of the Collegiate Church. (See Canon Raines, *The Fellows*, &c., p. 267.)

<sup>2</sup> "All the days of his separation he is holy unto the Lord."—The passage has an ominously non-juring sound.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Remains*, i. 544.

<sup>4</sup> Dr. Edward Chandler, Bishop of Lichfield (1714–30) and of Durham (1730–50), the opponent of Antony Collins. In the text there appears to be some reference to the Bishop's writings on prophecy, a subject on which they largely turned.

<sup>5</sup> Here follow, in succession, the lines "The secret, Phœbe," &c. (cf. *ante*, 72), and *The Poor in Spirit*, (*ante*, 64).

<sup>6</sup> As Mr. Sutton suggests to me, this can hardly refer to any Translation of which Mr. John Clayton, at this date a young man of twenty-two years of age, was himself the author, nor is there any trace of such an effort among his literary productions. The book in question was more probably some rare old printed volume that had been lent to Byrom, or by his father, William Clayton, the bookseller. Byrom's pleasure in this

October 17th, 1731.<sup>1</sup> "What is nothing?" Will you ask me a question? "Whose coach was that that was at the Place head this afternoon, and who was in it?" I can't tell. Mr. Sidebottom<sup>2</sup> was at our house last Saturday, and enquired for you and all your family. I said I was going to Kersal. "So he has gone back again to London?" No, we expect he will come some day this week again. "Will you have him for a husband?" I shall not say no before I am asked. "Why, they say he would have had your sister, and she wouldn't. But he's asked you then, has he?" No, nor I don't want him. "Why, do not you intend to be married, all in good time?" No, I don't, and I hope you [I?] never shall. "Why do you hope so? Are you afraid of being married against your will, or do you think you shall not always be in the same mind?" I'm not afraid of being married against my will, but think I shall not live any happier than I do. "But may you not give much happiness to another person by making a good wife?" I don't know that I should prove a good one; if I shouldn't, the person would want to be quit of me. "How must he do, then? He must take it quietly, since it is his own choice to have you, and if you design for to be married, you must run the risk of having a good husband or a bad; and they say 'good ones are scarce.' But your good judgment may help you to find one out for yourself, when you are so disposed." But, suppose I should, would you have me tell the gentleman I like him for a husband? "What gentleman?" I can't tell. "Then, I would not have you tell him; for, if you don't know him, how should you tell him?"

Wednesday, October, 1731. Wrote an answer to Houghton at London this morning. Was at Kersal yesterday; went with Sister Anne . . . to Bedfords<sup>3</sup>; Hiltons,<sup>4</sup> Cromptons,<sup>5</sup> &c. Phebe here

version is shown by his insertion of several extracts from it in the ensuing pages of his *MS.* book.—As to Mr. Peter Leigh of Lyme, see *Remains*, ii. 38, and *note*.

<sup>1</sup> This entry appears to represent a conversation with the sprightly Miss Beply, though I may not have altogether succeeded in my attempt to break the passage up into dialogue.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Samuel Sidebottom, Rector of Middleton. (See *Remains*, i. 47, *note*.) As to his supposed intentions with regard to Byrom's daughter Anne, who died unmarried in 1740, see *ib.*, i. 111.

<sup>3</sup> I do not know to what house or person this refers.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Remains*, i. 398 and *note*.

<sup>5</sup> As to Byrom's "cousin," "Mrs. Hannah Crompton," cf. *ib.*, i. 525, 638.

last night. Josiah sent [here] this morning; said Wm. Shrigley had got two books against Mme. Bourignon, to undeceive any Disciples, &c.

Aunt Sleight<sup>1</sup> called here, and brought Father Malebranche's three heads by Kirkhall,<sup>2</sup> and a book from W. Chaddock and J. Stansfield.<sup>3</sup>

"What leads me to this<sup>4</sup> is the book of Mrs. Bourignon that you left with me. I have read it, and think in a great many things she reasons very well and justly; yet I cannot agree to all her sentiments, nor allow that she was inspired by the Holy Spirit to such a degree as to make all she saith of equal authority with the writings of the Old and New Testament, and of consequence must think she had a great deal of vanity to equal [?] them, or rather to prefer her own writings above them. Had she wrote her books and sent them into the world without the above pretence, I should have thought her an extraordinary person, considering her education; and, at the bottom, excuse me if I differ from your sentiments in regard to Mrs. Bourignon. As you try all things, I hope you will hold fast that which is good."

Library. Friday morning, October. Mr. Trent Traunt [?] and his man called me up this morning. Seemed to care about Shorthand, but said [the] price was above his pocket.

If we divide the life of man into twenty parts [?], he was at our house yesterday in the afternoon, and Mr. Lever and Dr. Deacon. We were at the Bull's Head at night, Mr. Scholes<sup>5</sup> (not Dr. Deacon). Mr. Balker brought Dr. Cockburn's<sup>6</sup> *Narrative* against Mrs. Bourignon, and we read your first [?] over, and he said in his judgment there was very little in it.

Mrs. B[yrom] mentioned Mr. Sidebottom and Joe Cole's [Clowes' ?] rooms, and I was uneasy to think of leaving my family and come to the Library, where I am looking about the word "*καιρός*" (*συκῶν*),<sup>7</sup> whether it may be "appearance."

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Remains*, i. 51.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *ante*, i. 77.

<sup>3</sup> See *Remains*, i. 9, *note*, *et al.*

<sup>4</sup> I have printed this entry because of its good sense. Possibly, it was one of the "opinions of Mme. Bourignon" communicated to Byrom by Stansfield (*vide infra*). The opinion of Law (see *Remains*, i. 558 *seqq.*, 615 *seqq.*, *et al.*), although likewise distinguished by caution, was formed on different premises.

<sup>5</sup> Apparently the Manchester medical man of that name (see *Remains*, i. 187). The transcript has "Scholz."

<sup>6</sup> See *Remains*, ii. 130, *note*, for the full title of Dr. Cockburn's publication.

<sup>7</sup> "Ὁ γὰρ καιρὸς οὐκ ἔνι συκῶν." "For the time of figs was not yet." *St. Mark*, xi. 13. A large number of quotations, chiefly of a lexicographical kind, are appended.

*Fan Lever and Phæbe*, October, 1731 :<sup>1</sup>

How do you do to-night? "Very well, thank you; how do you do yourself?" I am very well, How do you do? "Why, you asked me that before." And why did you not answer me? "I did answer you." What did you say? "I said very well, thank you; did you not read it?" No, I did not see it. "You should look sharply about you?" I took it for my writing. Where have you been all day? At school. "What do you talk of at school?" Nothing. "But what particular things?" Nothing, but when I show[ed] my mistress my work. "Do you say nothing to one another all day?" No. "What have you had to eat to-day?" My breakfast, and a taste this afternoon. "Have you had nothing else?" No. "Do you not find yourself very hearty and easy with eating but a little?" Yes. "It is much better than to be greedy of eating everything, as some children are?" Yes, so it is. "If you can learn to do with a little of everything else, you would be very happy, if you thank God for it." Yes, so it seems. "Pray, who was that man that brought the paper?" A cousin of yours. "Is he a relation of yours?" Yes; he married a cousin of ours. "You see how poor he is. Did he . . .

[*Cætera desunt.*]

*Fanny Lever and Phæbe*, October 17th, 1731 :

Now, all sat a-talking. How does the boy do that has the canker in his face? "He is very well, but for his face." Do you think he might be cured? "No." Then it's no matter of asking the Doctor's advice about him. "Yes, but it is; for it may be that it may be cured for all [that]." Shall I ask what is good for him? "It would be kind, if you would. That boy's mother was brought to bed with two children a little bit since." Then, you suppose she is very busy? Are they both alive? "She talked of nursing them both herself." You and I have a much easier life than she is like to have. "Will it be better for us, do think? Why, let us not be married."

<sup>1</sup> Evidently a gossip in shorthand between the cousins. Fanny Lever was one of the two sisters of Sir Darcy Lever. (See *Remains*, i. 346, *note*.)

"Sir,<sup>1</sup>

I permit you to apply to me upon any case whatsoever wherein you judge sincerely that my advice may be of use to yourself or sister or any person whatsoever; and therefore you shall not need hereafter to make your apologies."

[Byrom's letter to his sister [Phœbe?] which ensues, is preceded in the *MS.* by a translation of a long letter by Mdlle. Bourignon, suggested by *Acts of the Apostles*, and commending the example of Dorcas to the writer's own generation. The letter is a very fine one, and might, *with modifications*, be profitably sold at many a bazaar of the present day.]

"Dear Sister,

I have been obliged to translate this letter in haste, and to leave out some terms relating to female dress, and apparently have mistaken others; but you will excuse faults, and impute them not to Madame, but to Monsieur.

Your loving Brother,  
J. B."

[Several pages of quotations follow from Charles Leslie's *Short and Easy Method with the Deists, in a Letter to a Friend* (1698); from his *Short and Easy Method with the Jews, Wherein the certainty of the Christian Religion is demonstrated by infallible proof from the four rules made use of against the Deists* (also 1698); and from the second edition of his *Snake in the Grass* (1697; first edition, 1696), which was largely re-written and accompanied by a preface concerning Mdlle. Bourignon.]

Library, Thursday, October 28th [?], 1731. Holiday.

[Quotations from S. Antonii [Eremitæ?] *Epistola*.]

*Phæbe's Extract from my letter to Mrs. Mort.*<sup>2</sup>

Does curbing uneasy [thoughts?] do no good? But our impatience

<sup>1</sup> Doubtless a draft of a letter such as Byrom may have written many times in the course of his life.

<sup>2</sup> See *Remains*, i. 562, *note*.

moves us to say, we cannot help being uneasy, though we know it is to no purpose. But there is no law which obliges us to do that which is to no purpose, and if we will do so knowing it to be wrong, all nature cannot help us; for we are very ignorant in this, and we have a right to what we philanthropically [?] choose, whether it be good or evil. It must therefore proceed from some liking of our own, that we renounce the reason that would comfort us. "But our misfortunes are very great." Be it so,—what posture of mind do great misfortunes require? Why, certainly, that of patience, courage, reasonableness, charitableness; for, if ever these things amount to what we call virtue, it is when they are exerted in relation to the troubles of this life. For what virtue can appear in them, when there is no trial of them? It is natural to be content and easy, when everything goes according to our own humour; it is virtue to be so, when they do not, — to show that we do not make our own will the law, to which we submit with cheerfulness, but the Will of God, Who is equally to be loved and revered in all His dispensations, which, however severe they may seem to be, are always governed by reasons, though we cannot discern the parts of a truth so generally confessed. It is when we are called upon to give some proof of that faith and hope and trust in God that we are so full of in our speeches [?], to see if our tongues and hearts go together when we profess ourselves [submissive?] to the commands of our Maker and Governor, or if it is only compliment. Indeed, the curious evil [of?] our own uneasiness is, that our wills are not submitted to the Supreme Will. So long as we carry our wishes or desires about with us that are not centred in doing or suffering the Will of God, so long we are in danger of a descent to [?] thousand trifles which we should otherwise be free from. My [Our?] own infinite variety of circumstances will fill out [?] [and] discompose us, if we are not ready [and] prepared to adjust our desires according to Him. Now the Law teaches [that] we are to regulate our desires by the Will of God. We ask, how we may know It? Upon which, the answer [is], that It is the plainest thing to be known that can be, being manifested to every person in the world in a language which everybody must understand, perceive and follow,—viz. their own circumstances. I do not want to know, whether it be God's Will, that I should be an Englishman or a Frenchman, a little man or a tall man, or the like. If it be said, these are things that

we cannot help, so are all the motives for which we afflict ourselves. For if we could help them, we could [?], and if we cannot, it is so plainly the Will of God that we should be in them, as that we should be born in England or France, and therefore it is just as unreasonable to lament the one as the other. All these outward conditions of life,—such as being in England or France, rich or poor, ugly or handsome, honourable or contemptible, are only to be submitted to as such [those] which it pleases God to put us in as it pleases Him, and we have nothing to do but to behave ourselves as well as we can while we are under them. In a word, for the present we may be content to let our circumstances be what they will, since they are our own,—since it is God's Will that we should be in [them] for the present, as much as if we were this moment created in them.

“But may we not better our circumstances?” The answer is, I know not what circumstances are best [for] me. God Almighty knows, and [how?] we please Him; but this I know, that he that doeth his duty is always in good circumstances. But I have no right to prescribe to Him That formed me, what circumstances He should put me in; but He has a right to put me in such as He may think fit, which my repining will not mend, but justly cause Him to deal worse with me than He otherwise would; and therefore I dare not grumble, nor form a secret wish that should counteract His Good Pleasure; and though there are many fine things in this world which tempt me, let it be Thy Good Pleasure to give me this or that, and many troubles and misfortunes that I pray to be free from! Yet should I **always correct the** human infirmity by the Divine Example, and add in every place: “Not my will, but Thine be done!”—How many **anxieties** should we be freed from, if we could speak thus from our hearts!

On the contrary, setting a value upon **outward** circumstances in themselves,—as preferring riches to poverty, **honour** to dishonour,—tempts us often to be unhappy under the notion of **bettering** our circumstances. To have the good opinion of the world,—to be possessed of much money, wit, learning, beauty, or natural **qualities** which is [are?] as much esteemed as money,—is no part of our duty; but to make proper use of these things when we have them, and to be without them content when we have them not,—this is what we are obliged to do; and we must account for what we have, and not for what we have not.

order that [everyone should use his?] talent,—and scarce any but have some,—we should employ our one talent without disquieting [ourselves?] about those which it is thought fit we should not have. A few talents that we are easy and contented with become a great many; and so [we?] may assist others better than they that have more and are not using them. If it be necessary to run as fast as we can to help one that has fallen, and to put forth all our strength to do it in the best manner that we can, it is necessary to exert strength and quickness of mind upon proper occasions [when?] we would hasten to the relief of others. All this is reasonable; but if we were [are?] to take religion into the church, we may be thankful for those things we call afflictions, because they are always great blessings, if we turn them right. We must renounce and mortify,—two dismal words in sound, but reasonable and comfortable in sense. Apparently, if we would renounce more pleasures, we should feel less pain; if we renounced [?] more honour, we should not be uneasy at contempt; riches, at poverty,—and so everything else, we being born, not to be choosers, but to actively perform the part which is allotted to us, this world being a state of penitence, not [of?] enjoyment,—to pass through, but not to set our hearts upon, they being neither prepared for that purpose . . .

Library, Wednesday, November 10th, 1731. Aunt Clowes<sup>1</sup> died this day.

[Patristic quotations.]

Friday night. Letter from Mr. Leycester, who says:

“November 10th, 1731.

Dear John,

I desire you to accept two marsh-hens slain yesterday. I hope you and yours are well, and shall be glad to hear at Chester, where I hope to be in a day or two; and am

Yours obediently,

R. LEYCESTER.”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I suppose, Mrs. Samuel Clowes, daughter of Roger and Anne Mekin (Mrs. Edward Byrom). See *Genealogical Table* appended to *Remains*, where, however, the date of her death is not mentioned.

<sup>2</sup> As to “Sir Peter’s” presents of game to Byrom, cf. *ante*, i. 243 *seqq.*

"Dear Peter,

I thank you for these two marsh-hens, looking upon them as a token of your freewill [goodwill?], and I wish you a good journey to the Cestrian City, and a continuance of health and felicity thereon. But, I pray [thee?], deliver me from the anxiety whereunto the news of Friend Elwall's<sup>1</sup> death, which Dr. Hall<sup>2</sup> has acquainted me with from persons coming from Chester, has thrown me, although Friend Swinton and Friendess Katharine Malyn<sup>3</sup> have spoken concerning him as of a living wit. As, therefore, fame alone cannot give death, nor yet a Turban convey immortality, let thy testimony clear up this matter; also, if thou wouldest, say what communication Friend Wright of Mobberley,<sup>4</sup> whom you regard as a man of understanding, and the rest of ye had with him; whether it tended to edification, or how, and what Friend Wright thought of him; and inform me of the safety of thy arrival and the solidarity<sup>5</sup> [?] of thy sentiments. It will oblige

Thy Friend and servant,

J. B."

"Because the Father giveth to the Son those who hear His Voice," therefore, and from such-like places,<sup>6</sup> infer perdition! Now, Laban said: "The speckled and ring-streaked cattle shall be given to Jacob;" but Jacob took a way to make them such,—and so did Christ, by applying His death and Virtue to man.

Monday, at 7 o'clock, November, 1731. At dinner at Dr. Deacon's with Drs. Morgan<sup>7</sup> and Hall.

<sup>1</sup> Elwall died in 1744.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Richard Edward Hall. (Cf. *ante*, i. 219.)

<sup>3</sup> Miss "Kitty Malyn" (cf. *Remains*, i. 294) was no doubt just as much of a Quaker as was Mr. Sub-dean Swinton.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. vol. i. p. 79.

<sup>5</sup> So the transcript. But I can hardly suppose Byrom to have used this word, which is understood to be an importation into our language from the French of Comte.

<sup>6</sup> This entry, which though isolated in the *MS.* book, seems to fall in with the train of thought of the foregoing passages, is of scholastic ingenuity. The first reference seems to be to *St. John*, vi. 37, and x. 4,—and perhaps to other passages; the second is of course to *Genesis*, xxx. 31 *seqq.*

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *Remains*, i. 114, *et al.*

*Letter to John Stansfield, November, 1731.*

“ Dear Friend,

Your letter was very acceptable to me, both upon your account and my own, since I am always glad to hear of your health, and obliged to you for giving to me your opinion with freedom and sincerity. I shall return you my own with the same, showing how willing I am to excuse you, by taking the like liberty myself.

Your opinions of Mrs. Bourignon<sup>1</sup> seem to me to be a compound of common-sense and common prejudice, but are very distinguishable in the God-made character you give of her. I beg leave to examine it, and [ask ?] correction, if I should judge wrong.

Mentioning the book I had left with you,—(the *Academy of Learned Divines*,<sup>2</sup> was it not ?)—you say, you have read it. . . . Now, there is some sense in that ! How many second-sighted persons has one met with that have railed and wrote against her, without giving themselves that trouble !

She met those preposterous parties [praters ?] in her lifetime. ‘ I desired one of my friends,’ says she, speaking about some Calvinist purchasers who had been so sharp-set as to fall upon her without the ceremony of examining, ‘ to ask them what evil they had observed in my person or doctrines, that I might discover them. Their answer was, that they knew not my person, nor had they read any of my writings, but that they counselled everybody not to follow my doctrines.’

But you have read this book, and think that in a great many things she reasons very well and justly. Now, these things are not fustian, cockle-shells, or parallelograms [?], but the most important issues that can be,—matters of consequence, upon which it may be owned that she does reason with great goodness and justness ; and the question is, whether a girl without study can advance the truths of God and reason so convincingly without being inclined [inspired ?] by the Holy Spirit, since that she makes use of no human means to compose her writings in which there is nevertheless more solidity than [in those ?] of the learned, who, with their spirits corrupted, cannot impenetrate the truth of God ?

<sup>1</sup> Apparently several opinions of her cited to Byrom by Stansfield.

<sup>2</sup> *L' Académie des Savans Théologiens (Œuvres de Mlle. Antoinette Bourignon, Amsterdam, 1686, vol. viii).*

Now, common-sense must answer this question in the negative ; perhaps, may raise many subtle distinctions in a plain case ; may question well-grounded facts, without disproving any of them ; may quote Scripture against the Holy Spirit Itself. But it cannot hinder Him [from ?] inspiring whomsoever He pleases ; and, if He was pleased to inspire this pious virgin, where is her vanity in acknowledging her own insufficiency and giving Him the glory, because you say in abatement of your commendation : ‘ Yet I cannot agree to all her sentiments ; ’—which she will easily excuse, if you sustain your judgment, unless in points of Scripture,—nor allow, that she was inspired by the Holy Spirit to such a degree as to make all she said of equal authority with the Old and New Testaments, and of consequence must think she had a great deal of vanity to equal them, or, rather, to prefer her own writings before them.

In the use of some [of these ?] expressions you cannot think that you were directed by your own good-sense, but rather by other people’s prejudices, which you too unwittingly prefer to it. For it is her enemies who have suggested these odious comparisons, this absurd preference, to raise a great aversion for her, when they could find but little reason against her—Compare what you say with the Holy Scriptures, and if it be the same truth in effect, follow it ! This is her comparison : ‘ If there be anything in my writings contrary to the Holy Scripture, I detest and revoke it.’ This is her ‘ preference’ ! ‘ That which establishes me out of the reach of all doubting, is that the Holy Spirit explains all my sentiments. I have never understood anything otherwise than it is there revealed.’ This is her ‘ vanity’ ? ‘ I will be tried by no other touchstone but Holy Scripture ; read the Holy Scripture, Sir, and see,’ &c., &c. I am sure one might quote a thousand places in her writings to the same effect ; for, indeed, the whole tenour of them is to revive the unknown value of the Holy Scripture,—to incite Christians by word and deed to reverence the evangelical truths, not with eloquent phrases and affected veneration, but with life and practice, as she did,—the only proof which God will accept of our value of them.

You have read this book, you say. Give me leave to recall one paragraph of it to your consideration as well as your reading ; and judge yourself, whether your own would not be seen through so vain a censure, if you had but seen it ! ‘ I am sure,’ says she, in that

admirable Discourse about the Discernment of Spirits, which begins in the Second Part of the *Academy*, &c., 'first of all see what a person pretending to the Spirit says is conformable to the Holy Scripture.'<sup>1</sup> But this is sufficient to absolve Mrs. Bourignon, and to set your difficulty in a clear light. I know quite well: had she written her books and sent them into the world without the above pretensions, you would have thought her an extraordinary person, considering her education.

Why, my dear friend, does it make a good thing any worse, because it is acknowledged to come from God? Is inspiration a crime,—or an impossibility? Are you of their hope, who talk of the Holy Spirit as of a certain power that was leased out to the primitive Christians for a number of years, after which it was to cease, though the prayers for it were to continue? For, certainly, in the primitive times, when the promises of the Gospel were somewhat more than talk, Christians would have rejoiced with a virtuous person rejoicing in the Light of God's Holy Spirit, and have [wept?] with her the miserable delusions which hindered men from the enjoyment of it. In those days, you say, a poor girl without education, reasoning well and justly upon religious matters, and ascribing all the knowledge she had to the Holy Spirit, whom the Christians pretended to worship, would not have been thought so extraordinary a character. If the pretence of inspiration is a mark of vanity,—great vanity,—why should not the disclaiming of all Divine Assistance be a mark of as great humility?

But it may be enough to ask more questions for my information, when I have (which I desire to have, if you think fit at your leisure) your answer to the above query, 'whether a girl without study,' &c. For, not being able to answer it myself, and finding the facts true, obliges me to confess, either that she was inspired by the Holy Ghost, or that I am truly ignorant, what inspiration is, and, as I may say, have not yet heard (so as to understand) whether there be any Holy Ghost. I have read whatever I could meet against her; I have tried her all ways I could think of; I have put her into your hands for a trial,—for she shuns no fair examination. And, unless you produce other reasons, I must hold her writings fast; for they are really good, as far as you [I?] see, and breathe the same Spirit with the Old and New Testaments. To Him be glory in all times, persons and things whatsoever! Amen."

<sup>1</sup> The rest of the quotation is omitted in the transcript.

Wednesday morning, November 9th, 1731.

This letter has lain [by?] for a fair wind, and now it has cast sail. I should have said somewhat of Dr. Scott,<sup>1</sup> having perused him with that view, but it would require another letter, and till you have undeceived me about Mrs. B[ourignon], I can only say that he is a very good author compared with most other divines, but far short of writing like her upon the love of God. Some of his sentiments are, I think, by no means just; but that may be my ignorance. I wish we had no worse authors than he; however, the best we have at present is Mr. Law.

Enclosed in this:<sup>2</sup>

"*Monsieur bon [mon ?] ami,*

Are you coming to our northern climes or not? The report of your appearance here succeeded your letter to me so soon, that it made me more careless in [about?] writing to you; and I thank you for your care about Father Malebranche, whose head of a R. M.[?] is like the picture; but I am not a judge of the mezzotinto. The left eye looks somehowish. Mr. Houghton wrote me word that Mr. Kirkhall<sup>3</sup> was going to be married to a £2000 fortune in [the] country; is it true? Is he come back? I thought to have been in London by this time, but I am not. I longed to write to Mr. Law, but it seems so like invocation of saints that I know not how to venture. But if I stay here and you stay there, I think I will try; for I should rejoice to have his opinion, if it belonged to me to ask it, &c. I was told not half a year ago by Mr. Walker, that some person in this town had wrote to a friend in London of Mrs. Bourignon, about which lady I have written to Mr. Stansfield in answer to one from him; that he enclosed to you with desire to call upon him *en passant* with my service, and also to correct yourself anything that you think amendable in a kind amendful; for I grow so passionately in love with her, that there may be need to check me a

<sup>1</sup> As to Dr. Daniel Scott, a nonconformist minister, and author of *An Essay towards a Demonstration of the Scripture Trinity*, see *Remains*, ii. 147, and note.

<sup>2</sup> The following letter seems to be addressed to a friend in London, whom, in the character of one of his "sons" (or members of his Shorthand Club), Byrom facetiously claims as the "grandson" of his "aunt." (Cf. i. 77, and *ante*, p. 628.)

<sup>3</sup> No doubt Elisha Kirkhall, the celebrated engraver in whose reproduction of the portrait of Malebranche Byrom was so much interested. Cf. *Remains*, i. 601, 614; and see as to Kirkhall, *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. xxxi.

little; and I can bear it best from a friend that knows somewhat of her. I write in a hurry at present; but unless you come down very soon, I promise to pay you a letter of what length you please to order.

Your humble servant,

J. BYROM."

"Our brethren Houghton and L[loyd] are alive at Paris; I must write to them anon. My Aunt, your Grandmother, is hearty; Aunt Clowes buried; other friends well. Phœbe and my flock have just been to see some live creatures, viz., Tigers, Leopards, Civet-Cat, Opossum, Monkeys; and Phœbe was struck by the likeness of one Baboon's hands to the human fingers and thumb, very plain and observable; there must be something more in us than the body only, to be so far above them.

Pray are you for a statue in Cheapside, or against a statue? The *Free Briton* that comes here is very rampant about it; but I suppose you citizens don't much regard him, but take the advice which was given upon the like occasion in the reign of King Stephen.

'Be easy, citizens, about the statue,' &c."<sup>1</sup>

Wednesday, November, 1731. Library.

[Quotations from patristic literature, Poirer, Calmet, &c.]<sup>2</sup>

Monday, November 22nd. Library. Cecilia,<sup>3</sup> Mr. Thyer, Foxley<sup>4</sup> and Joseph came while we were at breakfast. Thyer brought me money in a paper from Mr. Lloyd.

"Brother Bateson,<sup>5</sup>

This is the boy whom I mentioned to you last night, when you were saying that you wanted a lad to look after your horse. I recommend him to your charitable consideration, whether he may not be worthy to earn his daily bread in your stables. He says he has been used to it to a little degree of that nature, and thinks he can with a little instruction be able to keep your beast from starving, as he is willing to keep himself; but you will examine him yourself, and, if your generosity be disposed

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *The Statue in Cheapside*, *ante*, i. 214.

<sup>2</sup> Among these is introduced the epigram in Bayle's *Life of Agrippa*, "*Nos habitat*," &c.

<sup>3</sup> I cannot identify this lady; but "Cecilia" or "Cecily" occurs repeatedly as a Christian name in the earlier generations of the Byrom family.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. i. 539, *note*.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Remains*, i. 439, *et al.*

to make a trial of him, here he is at your service. I know you will excuse my desire of seeing one of your younger brethren so well provided for as to be in never so low an employment under a master of your gentle disposition. This is a hope of which I cannot refuse him the chance of sending him to you, leaving it to you own judgment and determination, whether this be the way that Providence designs him to be provided for at present, or [whether?] we must take some other.

Your affectionate Master and Servant,

JOHN BYROM."

[Quotations from *Le Livre de l'Éternelle Consolation*, &c., Lyons, 1543.]

Monday, December 6th, 1731. Cousin W. Chaddock came from Bowdon on Saturday night. Mrs. Holbrook<sup>1</sup> died t'other day. Heard last Sunday of . . . Four cousin Clowes at Father Byrom's last night. Dr. Chaddock's son hurt by a horse some days ago. At Mr. Bradshaw's Saturday night with Mr. Greaves<sup>2</sup> and Tonge<sup>3</sup> and Clayton.

Lloyd, the person that came here from Messrs. Glover and Doughty, walked about Mr. Clayton's shop on Saturday noon, and, when he was out, took occasion to give the Boy this letter and a new proposition [?] (printed in this Town . . .).<sup>4</sup>

*Moribus antiquis, præsentibus utere verbis.*<sup>5</sup>

Mr. Townsend called here about six o'clock. I writ in his Kempis :

*"Nil moror an Thomas,"* &c.<sup>6</sup>

*Letter to Dr. Allen<sup>1</sup> about James Bradshaw.*

"Dear Cousin,

I would very gladly have come to see Mr. Bradshaw myself ; but by the contents of your letter to my brother I judge it necessary to send him better advice without delay. I have sent Dr. Den [Deacon], who will call upon him, as soon as he goes by this morning. I would

<sup>1</sup> *Quere*, the doctor's wife? (Cf. *Remains*, i. 41, *et al.*)

<sup>2</sup> Probably Mr. William Greaves ; cf. *Remains*, i. 339, *note*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *ib.*, i. 100, *et al.*

<sup>4</sup> I do not understand this entry, and have no clue to the names in it, except that of Clayton, who was a bookseller, and the father of the Rev. John Clayton.

<sup>5</sup> This line, which I have not included among Byrom's Latin verse, is merely a metrical adaptation of the following passage in Aulus Gellius, *lib.* i. c. 10: "*Vive ergo moribus præteritis, loquere verbis præsentibus.*"

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Imitatio Christi*, *ante*, 561.

have Mr. Bradshaw to put as much confidence in him as in me, that is, to believe that he will give him no physic but what is good for him, and that I would have come and prescribed for him myself, but that I dare not deprive him of better help.

John Moreton, the poor boy from Tabley, is just going in a cart to Tabley, to meet Mr. Justice Dukinfield there<sup>2</sup> to-morrow at three o'clock.

June 24th, 1732. Sister Brearcliffe here after church in the afternoon, talking about going to Chester. *N.B.*—We did go there and came back by [6 o'clock p.m. ?]<sup>3</sup>

[Extracts from *Apost. Constit.*, &c.]

---

TEXTS COMMONLY MISAPPLIED, AND QUERIES ABOUT TEXTS.<sup>4</sup>

*1st Epistle to the Corinthians*, ii. 9: "Eye hath not seen nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love Him." Which is generally taken for the Heaven of Heavens which cannot be conceived; but it follows, v. 10: "But God hath revealed them to us by His Spirit"; and through the whole chapter it appears that the mystery of the Gospel was made known by the Spirit to true Christians. And, therefore, when men introduce their own intelligence, it is that they mistake the nature of Christianity, which is something rendered intelligible,—something explained and not darkened.

*Ib.*, 8: "Had they" (the princes of this world) "known it" (the mystery of God's hidden Wisdom), "they would not have crucified the Lord of Glory." How, then, can the death of Christ be part of that mystery, and in what sense?

<sup>1</sup> Byrom's "cousin" Dr. or Mr. Allen is frequently mentioned in the *Remains* among his associates in London and Cambridge.

<sup>2</sup> To take his trial before him?

<sup>3</sup> This is a conjecture, imperfectly warranted by the transcript.

<sup>4</sup> I print last this entry in the reverse part of the *MS.* book, as not being assignable to any particular date by external or internal evidence. The rest of this portion of the *MS.* is made up of long series of Scriptural texts, and of extracts from the *Clementines*, Jeremy Taylor, &c., and more especially from *Mdlle. Bourignon*. In connexion with the beautiful passage in *Isaiah*, xlix. 15, are inserted the lines "What is more tender," &c. (see *God's Love to Man*, ante, 72). I refrain from repeating them here, though they would form no unfitting *envoi* to much of the religious thought and sentiment that pervade the jottings here transcribed, and indeed the writings of Byrom at large.

---

## ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

## VOL. I.—PART I.

p. 77, line 21. For "*a letter from Byrom*" read "*a letter enclosed in one from Byrom.*"

p. 84, l. 13 (*note*). "Gery," as Mr. F. M. Jackson suggests, may possibly be "Lewis L. Guerre," referred to in Strutt's *Biographical Dictionary*, i. 357, as "an engraver of no great note." "He was," adds Strutt, "I believe, a native of France, and died A.D. 1721, aged 58." The Modenese Guerra's are of course out of the question.

p. 91, line 1 from bottom. For "*ib.*" read "*26.*"

p. 95, line 3 from bottom. For "*l. 971,*" read "*l. 973.*"

pp. 110–111. (*Bone and Skin.*) In the *Letters of Richard Reynolds* (1852), edited with a *Memoir* by his granddaughter, Mrs. Hannah Rathbone (authoress of *Lady Wilmoughby's Diary*), that admirable man is said to have frequently quoted this epigram. Mrs. Rathbone surmises it to have been written by an acquaintance of her grandfather, whose residence was at Keltey in Shropshire, on the occasion of a season of extreme scarcity, when two millers of importance living in his neighbourhood held back their stocks of grain and flour for extravagant prices. From *Remains*, i. 562, *note*, it appears that the designations "Bone" and "Skin" respectively alluded by a special *innuendo* to the professions of Mr. William Dawson, a surgeon, and of Mr. Joseph Yates, an attorney. Both are repeatedly mentioned in Byrom's *Journal*.

p. 138, l. 24. For "*Adder's*" read "*Adders.*"

p. 185, l. 4 from bottom. For "*intented*" read "*intended.*"

pp. 215–8. (*Lines to Stephen Duck.*) The Poems of the excellent "Mrs." Elizabeth Carter, which fill vol. ii. of her *Memoirs*, edited by Montagu Pennington (2nd edn., 1816), contain (pp. 24–36) some couplets *To Mr. Duck, occasioned by a present of his Poems*. The editor observes, with apparently unconscious felicity, that these verses

were suggested by Mr. Duck's own Muse, adding that he would not have inserted them, "had they not been published before."

## PART II.

p. 282. (*Byrom's Jacobitism.*) *The Historical MSS. Commission's Fourteenth Report, Appendix, Part iv.* (1894) contains an interesting illustration of the long-continued loyalty of the Byrom family to the Stuart cause. Among the subscribers to the addresses sent from Manchester to the Earl of Derby as Lord Lieutenant of Lancashire, setting forth the readiness of the signatories to provide men and horses for use in quelling Monmouth's rebellion (1685), are John Byrom, Joseph Byrom, and Edward Byrom, who respectively undertake to furnish "a foot souldier, well-armed pike," "a musketeer" and "a foot souldier" (pp. 181, 182).

p. 368, l. 11 and *note*. ("Mountebank Green.") I am sorry to say that my note offers an unintentional illustration of the folly of "looking beyond one's nose." See Byrom's *Diary*, October 13th, 1722 (*Remains*, i. 46): "Mountebank Green's stage set up in the square." (St. Ann's Square at Manchester.)

p. 369, l. 1 and *note*. ("Baddam.") Mr. F. M. Jackson suggests that this may be John Bodenham, the well-known anthologist of both prose and verse, of whose *Wits Theater of the little World*, a copy (24mo, 1599) is in Byrom's Library. (See *Catalogue*, p. 32.)

p. 379, l. 4 from bottom. For "*Vicerory*" read "*Viceroy*."

p. 457, l. 10 from bottom. For "*Abbot*" read "*Abbey*."

pp. 477, 479, 481. (*Headings of pages.*) For "*Three Epistles*" read "*An Epistle*."

p. 499, ll. 6 and 9 from bottom. For "*Rhimes*" read "*Rimes*."

p. 504, l. 5, and *note*. Byrom seems to have made a slip in crediting Euripides with a line by Menander: "Χρυσὸς δ' ἀνολγεί πάντα καὶ ἄδου πύλας." See for this and other parallel passages Orelli's Horace, 4th edn., revised by Hirschfelder, 1892.

p. 551, l. 9, and *note*. A small tract in my possession entitled "*A Collection of Curious Papers*," printed for the author, n. d., comprises a series of "*Reasons showing the Rev. Richard Assheton to be justly suspected of Disaffection to his Majesty King George*," supposed to be the work of the Bishop of Chester (Samuel Peploe), and two supplementary essays by an admirer of his Lordship, together with other satirical matter. It is referred to in *Remains*, i. 231, *note*, where its style is with reason (though rather hyperbolically) praised.

p. 589, l. 17, and *note*. The Saint in question is Saint Denis. The legend which confounds Dionysius the Areopagite with St. Denis of France relates how, after the executioner had struck off the heads of the venerable and holy prelate and his companions, the body of Dionysius rose up on its feet and, taking up the head in its hands, walked the space of two miles to a place called the Mount of Martyrs (since known as Montmartre), the angels singing hymns by the way. Many persons were converted by this great miracle. See Mrs. Jameson's *Sacred and Legendary Art* (1848), ii. 343-4; where it is stated that the popular figures of St. Denis in the Gothic sculpture and stained glass of French Churches—representing him as carrying his head in his hand,

and occasionally at the same time bearing his own mitred head on his shoulders while carrying the severed head in his hand as an offering—appear to have suggested the legends of various other headless saints promulgated with a view of gratifying the popular taste for the marvellous.

---

VOL. II.—PART I.

p. 2, l. 2 from bottom. For "*Ross*" read "*Rous*."

p. 68. (*Phœbe's Fan*.) I should not have omitted to point out that ll. 11–24 of the verses called *Phœbe's Fan* repeat, with certain variations which may be due to the author, but are possibly due to the transcriber, ll. 1–12 and 29–30 of *A Penitential Soliloquy* (pp. 53–7, *ante*). A similar, although less close repetition, occurs on p. 64 (cf. ll. 9–10 of *Humility* and ll. 3–4 of *The Poor in Spirit*). It will of course be borne in mind that all these pieces are merely jottings in a note-book, where there is no reason why a writer should not repeat himself as often as he chooses.

p. 100, l. 22. For "*Appendix I*." read "*Appendix IV*."

PART II.

p. 435, l. 5. Dele "*again*."

p. 449, l. 18 from bottom. For "*Rirchen*" read "*Kirchen*."

p. 583, l. 5. For "*aiike*" read "*alike*."

p. 591, l. 21. For "*pugatory*" read "*purgatory*."

p. 595, *note*. Mr. F. M. Jackson has been informed by Mr. J. Sheriff Roberts of Chester, that the firm of Messrs. Bennett, one of the oldest firms of wine merchants in the district, occupied premises opposite "the old Crypt" (said to date from about 1180) in Watergate Street, and that a small portion of these premises consisted of cellars now in the occupation of Messrs. Rowson and Sons. In the *Chester Directory* for 1797 (published by F. Broster & Son, Chester) occur the entries "Bennett, J., Alderman, Wine Merchant, Watergate Street," and "Bennett, Samuel, Wine Merchant, Watergate Street."

p. 578, No. 10. Dele this *item*. The lines beginning "*O Thou, Whose Powerful Word gave birth*," occur in the *Chelham Library MS.*, and are reprinted from it *ante*, p. 69.

p. 600, l. 9. For "*of it*" read "*if it*."

p. 633, note 3. For "*i. 544*" read "*i. 545*."

p. 634, note 4. For "*i. 398*" read "*ii. 398*."


---



# INDEX.

---

[For this Index to the present edition of Byrom's *Poems*, and to the *Chetham Library MS.* printed as one of its Appendices, I am indebted to Mr. Francis M. Jackson, of Alderley Edge. I desire to thank him on behalf of the Chetham Society, as well as on my own behalf, for his generous labours, without which these volumes would have been useless to students.—A. W. W.]



1

1

1

1

## INDEX.

*The first lines of Poems by Byrom contained in these Volumes are printed in italics.*

THE TITLES OF THESE POEMS ARE PRINTED IN SMALL CAPITALS.

- A** BASEMENT, ii. 534.  
 Abbey, C. J., English Church and its Bishops, quoted, i. xvi, 19, 56, 439; ii. 147, 173; Essay on Church Fabrics and Services, quoted, ii. 279.  
 Abbey and Overton, "English Church in the 18th century," quoted, i. xvi, 101, 106, 241, 351; ii. 279.  
 Abbot of Canterbury, tune of, i. 363.  
 Abington's, *see* Coffee Houses.  
 Abjuration Oath, i. 282.  
*A blessed Truth for Parable to paint*, ii. 103.  
 ABSENT FRIENDS, i. 136.  
 "ACCORDING TO THY PROMISES," &c., A COMMENT ON, ii. 436.  
 "According to Thy Promises"—*Hereby*, ii. 437.  
*A Country Fellow and his Son, they tell*, i. 168.  
 Adams, Mrs. Eliz., Printer of the *Chester Courant*, i. 295; ii. 574-5.  
 Adamus Exul, a Latin tragedy, i. 188.  
 Addison, Joseph, paraphrase of paper in *Spectator*, i. 55; *Cato*, i. 150, 601; Hymns, ii. 2.  
 Adso! = gadzooks, i. 144.  
 Advent Sunday, *see* Collects.  
 ADVICE TO THE REV. MESSRS. H— AND H— TO PREACH SLOW, i. 85, 264.  
 AGAINST AN UNGALLANT MODERN ROUNDHEAD, i. 378.  
*A graceful Manner, and a friendly Ease*, i. 568.  
*A Hermit there was, and he lived in a grot*, ii. 573.  
 Ahmed III., Sultan, his treaty with Peter the Great (1724), i. 22; is deposed, ii. 606.  
 Akenside, Mark, i. xxv, 459.  
*A Lady's love is like a candle-snuff*, i. 219.  
 "Alderman, the," *see* Clowes, John.  
 Alegar = sour ale, i. 290.  
 Allen, Dr. or Mr., ii. 647.  
 Alford, Dean, on the word *dupls*, i. 478.  
 Allivated = elevated, i. 269.  
*All that comes under our Imagination*, ii. 468.  
 Almanacs, i. 19.  
*Almighty God, Thy Heavenly Grace impart*, ii. 17.  
*Almighty Lord of Hosts, by Whose Commands*, ii. 435.  
 Altrincham, co. Chester, i. 45, 90; ii. 616, 630.  
 Alvanley, Chief Justice, a Manchester Grammar School boy, i. 150.  
 Ames, Joseph, i. 476.  
 Ancoats Hall, seat of Sir Oswald Mosley, ii. 609.  
 André, *or* Andray, French painter, ii. 61.  
 Andria, Byrom's prologue and epilogue to, not extant, ii. 578.  
 Andrew, Dr. John, ii. 99, 283.  
 Angels, orders of, ii. 389; Fall of, 145.

- An Humble Christian, to whose inward Sigh*, ii. 329.  
 Anstey's Bath Guide parodies Byrom's Pastoral, i. 5.  
 ANSWER, THE, TO LORD CHESTERFIELD'S REBUS, i. 558.  
 ANSWER, AN, TO SOME ENQUIRIES, &c. (Warburton's sermon), ii. 278.  
 Antiquaries, Society of, i. 63, 476.  
 Aoot on't = out of it, i. 287.  
*A Patient in Bedlam that did pretty well*, i. 229.  
 APE AND THE FOX, THE, A Fable, i. 160.  
*Apostolic Constitutions*, ii. 596.  
 Apothecary (former meaning of word), ii. 108.  
*Applauded Viceroy of Ierne's Isle*, i. 379.  
 Arbuthnot, John, i. 10, 68, 143.  
 Archimedes, his maxim, i. 9.  
 'Apyôs, Dr. Pegge on word, i. 485.  
 Ariosti, i. 35.  
 ARISTIPPUS IN RETIREMENT, i. 448.  
 ARMELLE NICOLAS' ACCOUNT OF HERSELF, ii. 86; REFLEXIONS ON THE SAME, 95.  
*Around the Grave of a departed Friend*, ii. 55.  
 Artis est celare artem, nearest classical parallel to, i. 399.  
 ART OF ACTING, THE, i. 255.  
 ART OF ENGLISH POETRY, THE, i. xxiii, 394.  
*As Crowds attended when the Fatal Blow*, i. 321.  
 Assheton, Sir Ralph, of Middleton, ii. 587.  
 — Richard, Chaplain of Manchester Coll. Ch., i. 551; ii. 585, 629, 633, 650.  
 — Robert, Chaplain of Manchester Coll. Ch., father of preceding, ii. 629.  
*As Tom the Porter went up Ludgate Hill*, i. 297.  
*A strange Discourse in all impartial Views*, ii. 249.  
*A stranger, once, on Restoration Day*, i. 315.  
 ASTROLOGER, THE, i. 19.  
 Astyanax, an opera, i. 36.  
 Assureas Hops, proverbial expression, i. 98.  
 ATHEISM THE ONLY GROUND OF DISCONTENT, ii. 51.  
 Atonement, the, ii. 476.  
 ATTACK UPON ADM. BYNG IN THE "MONITOR," VERSES ON, i. 429.  
 ATTENTION, ON, ii. 434.  
 Attentive (Luke, xix. 48), ii. 434.  
 Ausonius, Byrom's verses on, not extant, ii. 579.
- AUTHOR'S COAT OF ARMS, ON THE, i. 26.  
*"A Verse on Patience?" Yes, but then prepare*, i. 126.  
 Avignon, Pretender at (1717-8), i. 9.  
 Aw = all, i. 268.  
 Aw'st = I shall, i. 274.
- B**ADDAM, or Badham, i. 369; and see *Addenda*, ii. 650.  
 Baguley, co. Chester, ii. 282.  
 Bailey, James, of Bromsgrove, ii. 587, 616.  
 Bailey, John Eglington, i. i, 148-9, 215, 226, 382; ii. 19, 65, 538, 583.  
 Bailey's Dictionary, ii. 607.  
 Baker, D. E., *Biographica Dramatica*, quoted, i. 3, 140.  
 — Sir H. W., ii. 3.  
*Balbus, methinks, the Friends of Liberty*, i. 303.  
 Baldwin, John, ii. 369.  
 Ball, or Balls, Mr., ii. 632.  
 Balmerino, Arthur, sixth Lord, account of, i. 317.  
 Bank of England, a run on (1745), i. 299.  
 Banks (?), ii. 632.  
 — Mrs., ii. 614.  
 Banne, Nathaniel, Rector of St. Ann's, Manchester, i. 352, 354; ii. 594.  
 Baoot = without, i. 268, 289.  
 Barclay, John, his "Argenis," ii. 564.  
 — Robert, his "Apology," ii. 629.  
 Barneston, Mr., ii. 594, 628.  
 Barrington, the, silver cup at Cambridge, i. 588.  
 Baskervyle, John, i. 90; ii. 616, 630.  
 Bateson, Mr., ii. 584, 646.  
 Bathurst, Ralph, M.D., Pres. of Trin. Coll., Oxford, afterwards Dean of Wells, i. 101.  
 Battersby, Mr., ii. 584, 589, 614.  
 Bayly, Benjamin, Rector of St. James, Bristol, his *Essay on Inspiration*, ii. 618, 626.  
 Bear and Harrow, see Taverns.  
 BEARING THE CROSS, ON, A DIALOGUE, ii. 370.  
 Beattie, Dr. James, i. xxix, 417.  
 BEAU AND THE BEDLAMITE, THE, i. xvii, 228.  
 Bedfords (? what family), ii. 634.  
*Be easy, citizens, about the Statue*, i. 214.  
 BEGGAR AND THE DIVINE, THE, ii. 383.  
 Behmen, Jacob, on the Universal Language, ii. 283; his writings, 313-33, 336, 358; mentioned, i. xx, 360, 368; ii. 334, 468.

- Behold the Potter and the Clay*, Dr. Watts' hymn and Byrom's contrast, ii. 510.  
*Behold the Secret of the Grace Divine*, ii. 72.  
*Behold the tender Love of God! Behold*, ii. 27.  
 Bengel, J. A., ii. 293.  
 Benison, Mr. (? Governor of Chetham's Hospital), ii. 618.  
 Bennett, Alderman, of Chester, ii. 595, 651.  
 Bentley, Joanna ("Jug"), i. 3.  
 — Dr. Richard, i. 3, 136, 501.  
 — Richard, junior, i. 254.  
 Beresford, Mr., Librarian of Chetham's Library, i. 206.  
 Beswick, Captain John, a Manchester Martyr, i. 334.  
 Bibliolatry, ii. 261, 278.  
 Birch Hall, Rusholme, the Young Pre-tender at, ii. 588.  
 BIRDS OF A FEATHER, i. 314.  
 Bite = a hoax, i. 565.  
 Black Act, the (1722), i. 98.  
 Blackburn or Blackburne, John Ireland, i. 477.  
 Blackstone Edge, ii. 630.  
 Blackwell, Thomas, Principal of the Marischal Coll., Aberdeen, ii. 67.  
 Bland, Lady Anne, ii. 602.  
 Blank Verse, i. 411, and see Rime.  
 Blood, Capt. Andrew, a Manchester Martyr, i. 334.  
 "Bob" = the sense of a blow, ancient slang, i. 97.  
 Böhme, Jacob, see Behmen.  
 Bold, Peter, ii. 603.  
 Bolingbroke, Henry St. John, Viscount, i. xix, 45; ii. 327-33.  
 Bond, William, *The Plain Dealer*, ii. 55.  
 BONE AND SKIN, an Epigram, i. 110; cf. ii. 649.  
 Bonner (?), Mr., ii. 608.  
 Bononcini, Giovanni, account of, i. 35, 147.  
 Booth, Robert, of Salford, his marriage, ii. 628; mentioned, 614, 632.  
 Boswell's Life of Johnson, quoted, i. 3, 316, 449.  
 Bottom = a ball of thread wound up together, i. 45.  
 Boulter, Dr. Hugh, Archbp. of Dublin, i. 369.  
 Bourignon, Antoinette, account of, ii. 65, 619; Wesley's opinion of, 559; mentioned, i. xxii; ii. 63, 74, 77, 163, 565, 589, 637; and see Appendix V.  
 Bowdon, co. Chester, ii. 282.  
 Bower, Jeremiah, ii. 587, 608.  
 Bowes, Mr., ii. 632.  
 Boyle, J. R., of Hull, account of, ii. 582.  
 Bradshaw, Mr. and Mrs., ii. 586, 590, 630.  
 — James, ii. 647.  
 Bread, Scripture texts on, ii. 602.  
 Brearcliffe, Thomas, ii. 588, 591.  
*Brethren, this comes to let you know*, i. 86.  
 Brettagh, Tom, i. 47.  
 — William, i. 582.  
 Brigantes, the, i. 587.  
 Britons Strike Home! a song, i. 464.  
 Brooke, Rev. Henry, High Master of the Manchester Gr. Sch., i. 85, 109, 148; ii. 602.  
 Brown, Charles, ii. 604.  
 — John, Minor Canon at Carlisle, account of, i. 436.  
 Browne, Isaac Hawkins, account of, ii. 539; Byrom's translation of his *Immortality of the Soul*, 544.  
 — Walter T., Governor of Chetham's Hospital, i. 549; ii. 19.  
*Brute Creatures upon Earth enjoy the Store*, ii. 544.  
 Buff = the human skin, i. 69.  
 Bufton's, a Tavern at Altringham, i. 45, 90, 94.  
 Bull, Miss, ii. 605.  
 Bull's Head at Manchester, see Taverns.  
 Bull Inn, Bishopgate Street, see Taverns.  
 Burden, or burthen, derivation of, ii. 478.  
 Burnet, Bishop, on the term "High-Churchman," i. 371.  
 Burning in the hand, i. 44.  
 Butler, Samuel, his *Hudibras* quoted, i. xxiv, 296.  
*But small the Difference, if Tertullian's right*, i. 569.  
 Butterworth, Thomas, ii. 587.  
*By "Campus," and by "Area," my Friends*, i. 518.  
 Byetten = beaten, i. 280.  
 Byfield, Dr., account of, i. 23.  
 Byfleet, co. Surrey, i. 216.  
 Byng, Admiral, account of, i. 429.  
*By "Reformation from the Church of Rome,"* ii. 270.  
 Byrom family, their coat of Arms, i. 26; thoroughly Jacobite, 275; ii. 650.  
 Byrom, Anne, Byrom's daughter, ii. 586, 588, 634.  
 — Christopher, i. xxiv, 226, 296.  
 — Dorothy (Dolly), youngest daughter of Byrom, i. 379; ii. 585, 612.

- Byrom, Edward, elder brother of Byrom, i. 361; ii. 584, 616.  
 — Edward, Byrom's brother-in-law, ii. 584.  
 — Edward (Teddy), son of Byrom, i. 361; ii. 97, 588, 607.  
 — Ellen, Byrom's daughter, ii. 585.  
 — Elizabeth, "Sister Betty," ii. 99.  
 — Mrs. Elizabeth, Byrom's mother-in-law, her death, ii. 602.  
 — Mrs. Elizabeth, wife of Byrom, her death, ii. 97.  
 — Elizabeth, daughter ("Beppy") of Byrom, i. 275, 324, 327; ii. 22, 585.  
 — John, his character, i. v; Verses, vii; his taste in poetry, xxiii; influence of Pope, xxiv; of William Law, xx, 196; metre of his poems, xxix; mannerisms, xxx; kisses the Pretender's hands, 9; interest in Malebranche, 78; papers in the *Spectator*, 133; aversion to the Stage, 139, 218, 259; ii. 127, 605; school days, i. 148; Abjuration Oath, 282; Owen-Deacon controversy, 358; his Jacobitism, i. 459; ii. 460; respect for Leslie, ii. 65; letter on Enthusiasm, 168; diligent reader of Fénelon, 395; of Ruysbroeck, 428; of Pascal, 111; averse to Calvinistic doctrines, 500; list of his pieces not extant, 577; extracts from his Journals, now first edited in full from Chetham Library, &c., 582; first made known in part by J. E. Bailey, 583; *and see* Letters.  
 — Joseph (Beau), i. 56.  
 — Joseph (Father Byrom), Byrom's father-in-law, ii. 584, 585, 590, 608, 629.  
 — Josiah, Mrs. Byrom's youngest brother, ii. 604, 605.  
 — Mary, afterwards Houghton, ii. 282.  
 — Phebe, Byrom's youngest sister, i. 5; ii. 107, 586.  
 — Sarah, Byrom's sister, married to Thomas Brearcliffe, ii. 588, 602.
- CABBALA, the ancient, ii. 600.  
 Cadogan, William, Earl, i. 77, 83.  
 Caley Bongs, *or* Banks (now Caley Street), ii. 588.  
 Calvin and Calvinism, ii. 485, 493.  
 Cameron, Miss Jenny, i. 325.  
 Cant *or* Canty, i. 112.  
 Cantering measure, i. 1.  
 CARELESS CONTENT, i. 117.  
 Carter, Mrs. Elizabeth, ii. 539.
- Cattell, Rev. Thomas, Chaplain of the Manchester Coll. Ch. (1731), and Fellow (1735), i. 45, 85, 91, 109, 359; ii. 629.  
 CAUTION AGAINST DESPAIR, ii. 52.  
 Cawn = callen, i. 286.  
 Caxen, *or* Caxon, i. 94.  
*Cælestis Genitor, Nomen Tibi sanctificetur!* ii. 564.  
 CENTAUR FABULOUS, THE, i. 234.  
 Chaddock, William, Byrom's Cousin, ii. 99, 584, 605, 614, 635, 647.  
 Chadwick, Lieut. Thomas, a Manchester Martyr, i. 301, 334.  
 Chambers' Cyclopædia (1728), i. 64.  
 Chandler, Dr. Edward, Bp. of Lichfield, afterwards of Durham, ii. 633.  
 Chapelle (C.-E. Lhuillier), French poet, i. 452.  
 Charles Edward, the Young Pretender, B. kisses hands at Avignon, i. 9; at Manchester, i. 275, 324, 572; Epigram on, 572-4.  
 Chaucer, quoted, i. 51, 65; Byrom's verses on the character of a good parson not extant, ii. 579.  
 Chaulieu, Abbé de, French poet, i. 452.  
*Checkmate, dear Doctor! Well, I do profess,* i. 108.  
*Cheshire Comics, the, see* Johnson, Samuel.  
 Chess, the Pleasures of, i. 108.  
 Chester, Byrom at, 595.  
*Chester Courant*, Byrom's connexion with, i. 295; letter to, 304; mentioned, 300, 302, 303, 306, 309, 310, 311, 312, 314, 315, 316, 323, 324, 327, 229, 330, 350, 352, 364, 377, 378.  
*Chester Miscellany*, i. 296, 329, 330.  
 CHESTER PRINTERS' PENANCE, ii. 574.  
 Chesterfield, Lord, his Rebus and Byrom's Answer, i. 559; ii. 577.  
 Chetham, James, ii. 587, 608, 616.  
 Chevalier, the Old, i. 367.  
*Christian Magazine*, i. 554; ii. 3.  
 Christian Perfection, ii. 374.  
*Christians, awake! Salute the happy Morn,* ii. 20.  
 Christie, Mr. R. C., i. i., *et al.*  
 Christmas Day, Hymns for, *see* Hymns.  
*Churchmen are orthodox, Dissenters pure,* ii. 71.  
 CHURCH COMMUNION, ON, ii. 439.  
 Cibber, Colley, Poet Laureate, i. 30, 74, 146, 463; ii. 588.  
 Clads = clothes, i. 446.  
 Clarke, John, of Gray's Inn, i. 38, 55, 136; ii. 99.

- Clarke, Dr. Samuel, his sermon *On God's Omniscience*, ii. 589.
- Class, Byrom's use of the word, i. 169, 425; ii. 325.
- Clayton, —, bookseller, father of the following, ii. 647.
- John, Fellow of the Manchester Coll. Ch., i. 214, 265, 549; ii. 538, 584, 590, 605, 514, 633.
- Robert, afterwards Bp. of Killaloe, his "Essay on Spirit", ii. 48.
- Clementines, the, ii. 596.
- Clout = rags, patches, i. 115.
- Clowes family, ii. 606.
- Clowes, John, Rector of St. John's, Broughton, co. Lanc., ii. 582, 606.
- Joseph ("the Alderman"), Byrom's relative, account of, i. 42; mentioned, i. 23, 30, 38, 43, 47, 91, 97, 362; ii. 577, 580, 633.
- Richard, son of the preceding, Fellow of the Manchester Coll. Ch., i. 43.
- Mr. and Mrs. Samuel, ii. 604, 640.
- Thomas, ii. 589, 606.
- Coaches and coaching, i. 39, 47, 62, 64.
- COAT OF ARMS, ON THE AUTHOR'S, i. 26.
- Cockburn, Dr. John, his *Bourignianism detected*, ii. 67, 635.
- Co-equal Trinity was always taught*, ii. 46.
- Coffee-Houses, Abington's, i. 83; ii. 616; Dick's, 23, 33, 47, 140; George's, 47; Merchants, ii. 607, 609, 614; Rawthmel's, i. 492; Slaughter's 48; Tom's, 33; Widow's, 47; Wilson's, 42.
- Colbatch, Dr., i. 3, 136, 137.
- Coleridge, on extempore preaching, i. 102.
- Colin and Phebe, *see* Pastoral, a.
- COLLECTS, THE, FOR ADVENT SUNDAY, ii. 17.
- FOR EASTER, ii. 38.
- Collier, Mr., member of the Shorthand Society, i. 62, 67.
- John, *alias* Tim Bobbin, i. 265.
- Collins, Anthony, "the Freethinker," ii. 185, 199.
- Collyhurst Hall, Manchester, seat of the Mosley and Lever families, ii. 631.
- Comberbach, Roger, Prothon. of the Palatinate of Chester, and Recorder of Macclesfield, account of, i. 411; mentioned, i. xxvi, 2; ii. 2.
- Come, all ye foreign strolling Gentry*, i. 307.
- Come, Saviour Jesus, from above*, ii. 75.
- Comical Sir, the answer I give*, i. 206.
- Conder, Josiah, ii. 3.
- CONTENT, ii. 532.
- , CARELESS, i. 117.
- CONTENTED, REWARDS OF THE, ii. 532.
- CONTENTMENT, OR THE HAPPY WORKMAN'S SONG, i. 111.
- DIALOGUE ON, i. 121; ii. 603.
- Contest, The (between Byrom and R. Comberbach), i. 411.
- CONTRAST, A, BETWEEN HUMAN REASON AND DIVINE ILLUMINATION, ii. 327.
- CONTRAST BETWEEN TWO EMINENT DIVINES, ii. 485, 495.
- CONTRAST BETWEEN TWO EXECUTED LORDS, i. 315.
- CONVERSION OF ST. PAUL, ON THE, ii. 134.
- Cooper, Jo., i. 109.
- John Gilbert, account of, i. 448.
- Cope, Sir John, i. 333.
- Copley, John, Fellow of the Manchester Coll. Ch., ii. 629, 630.
- Cort, Christian de, his edition of Mdle. Bourignon's Works, ii. 619.
- Corum = quorum, i. 290.
- Cosmogony, Law's, ii. 468.
- Cossart, —, ii. 100, 102.
- COST OF BEING RELIGIOUS, THE, ii. 531.
- Cottam, or Cotham, —, i. 45.
- Could but our Tempers move like this Machine*, i. 571.
- COUNTRY FELLOWS AND THE ASS, i. 168.
- Covent Garden, *see* Theatres.
- Coward, Dr. William, his works burnt, i. 56.
- Cowper, William, i. 40, 438, 575; ii. 523.
- Cox, an auctioneer, i. 81.
- D. (or R.), ii. 13.
- Coypel, Anthony, French Painter, ii. 58.
- Craven, —, i. 136.
- Creature, and Creation, ii. 468.
- CRITICAL REMARKS IN ENGLISH AND LATIN UPON PASSAGES IN HORACE, i. 501.
- Cromartie, Lord, account of, i. 317.
- Crompton, Mrs. Hannah, Byrom's cousin, ii. 634.
- Crouchley, John, Fellow of the Manchester Coll. Ch., i. 549.
- Cudworth, Ralph, his *Intellectual System*, ii. 410, 412.
- Cumberland, Denison, son of Archdeacon, i. 4.
- Richard, Archdeacon of Northampton, i. 4.
- Richard, Bp. of Peterborough, i. 4.

Cumberland, Duke of, i. 459.  
 Curates in the 18th century, i. 272.  
 Cutting-out figures, *The Art of*, i. 70.  
 Cuzzoni, Francesca, Italian Soprano, account of, i. 30, 32.

DABS = flounders, i. 208.  
 Dalgarno, —, his letter on Short-hand, ii. 615.  
 Daniel, Samuel, his "Defence of Rime," i. 387.  
 D'Auteney, i. 64.  
 Darnel, Sir John, Sergeant-at-law, ii. 608.  
 Davenant, Dr. Charles, his writings, i. 443.  
 DAVID, HIS BELIEF IN A FUTURE STATE, ii. 514.  
 Davies, Sir John, ii. 539.  
 Dawson, Capt. James, a Manchester Martyr, i. 333.  
 — "Jemmy," son of the following, i. 110.  
 — William, a Manchester Surgeon, i. 109; ii. 614.  
 Deacon, Charles, account of, i. 581; mentioned, 63, 379, 579.  
 — Dr. Thomas, account of, i. 99; "Dr. Deacon try'd before his own Tribunal" (a Tract), 360-2; mentioned, i. 67, 108, 109, 301, 334, 350, 351, 359; ii. 603, 606, 612.  
 — Capt. Thomas Theodorus, a Manchester Martyr, i. 333, 350.  
*Dead as men are in Trespasses and Sins*, ii. 33.  
 DEAF AND DUMB GOD, A, ii. 536.  
 Deale, Mr., ii. 592.  
*Dear Brother in our Saviour Christ! His Grace*, ii. 361.  
*Dear Child, know this, that He who gave thee breath*, ii. 356.  
*Dear Christian brother, I confess*, ii. 103.  
*Dear Duck, this comes to wish thee joy of thy good luck*, i. 218.  
*Dear me! has Wit and Verse, at last, no more*, i. 314.  
*Dear Peter, if thou can'st descend*, i. 32.  
*Dear Peter, this tells you as soon as it could*, i. 248.  
*Dear Peter, whose Absence, what'er I may do*, i. 38.  
*Dear Peter, whose Friendship I value much more*, i. 11.  
*Dear Sir,—I'm really sorry, that our Friend*, i. 335.  
*Dear Sir, Tho' friend to rime which you explode*, i. 412.

*Dear Sister, if Soliloquy conduce*, ii. 107.  
 Deciphering, explained, i. 19.  
 DE FACTO LOYALTY, i. 304.  
 DEFENCE OF RIME, i. 411.  
 De Foe, i. 48; ii. 147.  
 De la Warre, Lord, i. 109.  
 Delves, Lady, i. 138, 142.  
 Dennis, John, i. 146.  
 DENOMINATIONS, EPIGRAM ON, ii. 70.  
 Derby, Young Pretender at, i. 335.  
 Derby, James, Tenth Earl of, ii. 609.  
 Derham, William, D.D., Canon of Windsor, i. 64.  
 Derry-down, antiquity of this refrain, i. 363.  
 Deshoulières, Mde., account of, i. 454.  
 DESIRE, ii. 531.  
*Despair is a Cowardly thing*, ii. 52.  
 DESPONDING SOUL'S WISH, THE, ii. 82.  
 Devil's Tavern, *see* Taverns.  
 DIALOGUE between a Gentlewoman and her Maid, i. xvii, 324; between Rusticus and others, on human learning in matters of Religion, ii. 313; occasioned by the march of the Highlanders into Lancashire (1745), i. 275; about compelling a person to take the Oaths to the Government, i. 281; on Contentment, i. 5, 121; in the Lancashire Dialect, i. 265; occasioned by a Clergyman preaching without notes, i. 267.  
 Diana's-minion = a highwayman, i. 69.  
 Dickenson, John, of Birch Hall, Rusholme, ii. 588, 589, 594, 606, 612.  
 Dick's, *see* Coffee Houses.  
 Dine with Duke Humphrey, To, explained, i. 41.  
 Ding = strike, i. 290.  
 Dippers, described, i. 11.  
 DISAPPOINTMENTS, ii. 531.  
 DISARMING AN ENEMY, i. 568.  
 DISINTERESTED LOVE OF GOD, ON THE, ii. 395; another, 399.  
 Dispute, &c., in favour of blank verse, i. 411; *and see* Comberbach, Roger.  
 DISSECTION OF A BEAU'S HEAD, i. 55.  
 DIVINE LOVE, THE ESSENTIAL CHARACTERISTIC OF TRUE RELIGION, ii. 415.  
 DIVINE OMNIPRESENCE, HYMN ON THE, ii. 11.  
 DIVINE PASTORAL, A, i. xvi, xxvi, xxviii xxix; ii. 1.  
*Doctor, this new poetic species*, i. 452.  
 Doddridge, Dr., his hymns, ii. 115.  
 Dodwell, Henry, "On the Immortality of the Soul," ii. 162.

Donne, Dr. John, irregularity of his verse, i. 418; mentioned, i. vii.  
 Doran, Dr. John, on highwaymen, i. 64.  
 Dorcas, example of, commended, ii. 637.  
 DOUBTING MIND, SOLILOQUY ON THE CAUSE AND CONSEQUENCE OF A, ii. 371.  
 Douglas, John, afterwards Bp. of Carlisle (1787), of Salisbury (1791), his "Milton no plagiarist," i. 183.  
 Downes, Charles, Fellow of Manchester Coll. Ch., i. 551.  
 — Joseph, Chaplain of the Manchester Coll. Ch., ii. 633.  
 Draaont = drowned, i. 280.  
 Drake, W., i. 45.  
 Dreams, i. 590, 599.  
 Dresden China, i. 563.  
 DRINK, i. 207.  
 Drayton, Michael, on "Thame" for "Thames," i. 49.  
 Drury Lane, *see* Theatres.  
 Dryden, i. 1, 16, 387; ii. 127, 172.  
 DUCK, STEPHEN, LINES TO, i. 215.  
 Duck, Stephen, account of, i. 92, 215; ii. 603, 649.  
 Duckworth, Mr., ii. 594.  
 DULCES ANTE OMNIA MUSÆ, i. xxx, 34, 163.  
 Dutch Neutrality, i. 298.  
 DYING SPEECH, A, ii. 459.

**E**ASTER COLLECT, THE, ii. 38.  
 — DAY, AN HYMN FOR, 39, 41.  
 Eckard, "Meister," German mystic, ii. 420.  
 Edwards, Mr., "the Parson" at Tarvin, ii. 594.  
 — Jonathan, account of, ii. 523, 525.  
 Eem = to spare time, i. 276.  
 Eend away = straight on to the end, i. 271.  
 EFFECTS OF MANNER, THE, i. 568.  
 Egerton, Miss Hester, ii. 99.  
 — Tom (? Sir Thomas Grey Egerton), ii. 612.  
 Egerton-Warburton, *see* Warburton family of Arley.  
*Eheu! fugaces, Postume, Postume*, i. 538.  
 Election, Watts' Hymns on, ii. 509.  
 Elwall, Edward, account of, i. 250; his death, ii. 641; mentioned, ii. 594, 597.  
 Empty = idle, i. 194.  
 ENCOURAGEMENT, AN, TO EARNEST AND IMPORTUNATE PRAYER, ii. 103.  
*Engag'd amidst the Doctors, here behold*, ii. 61.  
 Enthiasm, ii. 188.

ENTHUSIASM, i. xii, xix; ii. 167; cf. ii. 590.  
 EPICUREAN, STOIC, AND CHRISTIAN PHILOSOPHY, ON THE, ii. 537.  
 EPIGRAMS.—ABSENT FRIENDS, i. 136; AN ANECDOTE, 576; ANGRY REPROOF, 568; BIRDS OF A FEATHER, 314; BLESSEDNESS OF DIVINE LOVE, ii. 537; BONE AND SKIN, i. 109; cf. ii. 649; ON THE STATUE IN CHEAPSIDE, i. 214; DENOMINATIONS, ii. 70; DE FACTO LOYALTY, i. 304; DISARMING AN ENEMY, 568; STEPHEN DUCK (POPE), 215; THE LIKE BY SWIFT, 216; EFFECTS OF MANNER, 568; ON THE FEUDS BETWEEN HANDEL AND BONONCINI, 35; GHOST OF THE RUMP, 309, 310, 311; HOW DIFFERS HISTORY FROM HISTORIANS, 313; LADY'S LOVE, A, 219; LOOK AT HOME, 567; LOVERS OF LIBERTY, 303; NATURALIZATION BILL, 305, 307, 308, 309; OAK APPLE DAY, 314; ONE THING WANTING, 330; PARTY SPIRIT, 572; PLURAL AND SINGULAR, 558; PREACHING, ii. 281; PRIOR'S SOLOMON, i. 574; THE QUID AND THE QUIS, 569; QUERY, 570; REASON, SELF-SUBORDINATION OF, 569; REVENGE, WICKEDNESS OF, 569; RUMP PARLIAMENT, 309; SPOKEN BY A SOLDIER, &c., 329; SWEARING, ADMONITION AGAINST, 571; THERON AND ASPASIO, ii. 495; TIME PAST, FUTURE, AND PRESENT, i. 567; TO MISO-MANC AND COMPANY, 312; WATCH-CASE, VERSES DESIGNED FOR, 571; WHITWORTH'S VICARIOUS SUFFERINGS, 313; ON PREACHING, ii. 281.  
 EPILOGUE TO HURLOTHRUMBO, i. 138; cf. i. xvii, 36.  
 EPIPHANY, ON THE, ii. 22, 23, and *see* Hymns.  
 EPISTLE FROM THE AUTHOR TO HIS SISTER, ii. 107; TO J. BL—K—N, i. 477; TO A FRIEND, OCCASIONED BY A SERMON (NICHOLS), 332, 360; TO A FRIEND, ON THE ART OF ENGLISH POETRY, 394; cf. xii, xxv, xxxi; TO A GENTLEMAN OF THE TEMPLE, ii. 138; cf. i. xiv, xix.  
 EPISTLES, FOUR, TO REV. MR. L[ANCAS-TER], ii. 282; THREE, TO G. LLOYD, ESQ., i. 483; FAMILIAR, TO A FRIEND, UPON A SERMON BY WARBURTON, ii. 247.  
 EPITAPH ON WILLIAM OF WYKEHAM, i. 554.  
 — AN (THE BARRINGTON), i. 588.

- Epithalamium, by Byrom, proposed, ii. 578.  
 Epping Forest, Highwaymen in, i. xxvii, 62.  
 Erasmus on Psalm LXXXV., ii. 604.  
 Essay upon Satire, *see* Brown, John.  
 Essex, Robert Devereux, Earl of, Letter to the Earl of Southampton, ii. 345.  
 ETERNAL AND IMMUTABLE RECTITUDE, THE TRUE GROUNDS OF, ii. 410.  
 ETERNAL PROMISE OF GOD, ii. 73.  
*Et perhibent maculas etiam ipso in Sole repertas*, ii. 565.  
 Eusden, Laurence, Poet Laureate, i. 74.  
*Evil, if rightly understood*, ii. 474.  
 EVIL, ON THE ORIGIN OF, ii. 473.  
 Excommunication, ii. 445.  
 Exeter, Brownlow, 8th Earl of, Young Pretender at his house at Derby, i. 325.  
*Ex inio inferni supero de culmine cæli*, ii. 563.  
*Explain Religion by a thousand Schemes*, ii. 379.  
 EXTEMPORE VERSES ON A TRIAL OF SKILL BETWEEN FIGG AND SUTTON, i. 47.  
 — VERSES, SPOKEN ON THE PRESIDENT OF A CLUB'S APPEARING IN A BLACK BOB-WIG, i. 94.  
 FACULTY of riming, i. x.  
*"Facit indignatio Versum,"* i. 302.  
 FAITH AND CHARITY, ii. 533; FAITH AND WORKS, ii. 498, 533; FAITH, HOPE AND LOVE, 533; FAITH, REASON AND SIGHT, 339.  
 FALL OF MAN, ON THE, ii. 141, 165, 520.  
 FALSE HAPPINESS, ii. 71.  
 Family of Love, ii. 449.  
 Faou — foul, ugly, i. 267, 288.  
 FAREWELL TO THE WORLD, ii. 77.  
*Farewell, ye Wits of Whitworth's Magazine!* (not by B.) i. 315.  
 FATHER JERDAN, i. 219.  
*"Father!"—to think of His paternal Care*, ii. 14.  
 Fathers of the Church, i. 371.  
 Faustina, Italian mezzo-soprano, account of, i. 31.  
 Fazakerley, Nicholas, M.P. for Preston, ii. 608.  
 Feeake — faith, i. 286.  
 Fénelon, Byrom a reader of, ii. 395.  
 Ferdinand of Brunswick, Prince, i. 459.  
 Field-preaching, ii. 190.  
 Fielding, his *Life of Jonathan Wild*, i. 42; on *Hurlothrumbo*, 142.  
 Fielding, Mr., ii. 606.  
 Field-preachers, ii. 190.  
 Figg, James, Prize-fighter, account of, i. 48.  
 Flame, Lord, *see* Johnson, Samuel.  
*Flatter me not with your "Predestination,"* ii. 501.  
 Fletcher, Capt. George, a Manchester Martyr, i. 334.  
*"Fly from Enthusiasm! It is the Pest,"* ii. 179.  
 Folkes, Martin, LL.D. President of the Royal Society, account of, i. 63; mentioned, 77, 579, 583.  
*Folks are grown witty upon one another*, i. 303.  
*Fons et Origo boni Deus est; humana voluntas*, ii. 563.  
*"For all sorts and conditions of men." A paraphrase*, ii. 422.  
 FORCE OF TRUTH, THE, ii. 198.  
*For sixty-five if sixty-eight were laid*, i. 137.  
 Forty-five, the, i. 275, 281.  
 Foxley, Thomas, i. 362, 539, 552; ii. 646.  
 FRANCIS I., A PRAYER USED BY, ii. 435.  
 Francke, A. H., substitutes Christian for Pagan classics, i. 505.  
 Franklin, Benj., on Shorthand, i. 395.  
 FREE GRACE, ON THE NATURE OF, &c., ii. 496.  
 FREE WILL, ON EDWARDS' ENQUIRY CONCERNING, ii. 523.  
 Freke, John, a London Surgeon, account of, i. 260; mentioned, i. 573; ii. 139, 175.  
 — William, ii. 139.  
 FROM A GENTLEMAN TO HIS BARBER, i. 226.  
*From this true Saying one may learn to draw*, ii. 413.  
 FUNERAL SOLEMNITY, FOR THE DUE IMPROVEMENT OF A, ii. 55.  
 FUTURE STATE, AN ARGUMENT FOR DAVID'S BELIEF OF, ii. 514.  
 — a, the Jews ignorant of, ii. 164, 176.  
 GALIMATIAS = confused, nonsensical talk, i. 58.  
 Galloway (or Galway), Lord, ii. 609.  
 Gan = gave, i. 268.  
 Garden, Dr. George, ii. 65.  
 Gardiner, —, an engraver and singer, i. 3.  
 Garrett Hall, Manchester, ii. 588.  
 Garrick, David, anecdote of, i. 446.  
 Garter, order of the, i. 468.  
 Gaskell, William, on the Lancashire Dialect, i. 266.

- Gaup = gaped, i. 270.  
 Geet = got, i. 269.  
 Gen = got, i. 271; and given, 285, and *see* "getten."  
 Generaten away, *yo* = you degenerate, i. 291.  
 Gentleman, Mr., ii. 596, 601.  
 Gentleman's Magazine, the, i. 3, 109, 223, 316, 353, 362, 366, 574.  
 George II., i. 36, 429.  
 Gery, i. 84, 649.  
 Getten = got, won, i. 280.  
 GHOST OF THE RUMP, i. 311.  
 Gibbs, James, architect, i. 189.  
 Gibson, Bp. of London, ii. 173.  
 — Dr. Westby, ii. 615.  
 Gloppen'd = frightened, i. 269.  
 Glovers "Leonidas," Byrom calls it "stuff," i. xxv.  
 GNOMIC PHILOSOPHY, ii. 565.  
 Goa, Capital of the Portuguese possessions in India, i. 369.  
 Godalming, co. Surrey, i. 67.  
*God bless the King, — I mean the Faith's Defender*, i. 574.  
 GOD'S LOVE TO MAN, ii. 72.  
 GOD THE ONLY TRUE TEACHER, ii. 13.  
*God, Who at sundry Times, in divers ways*, ii. 571.  
 GOODNESS OF GOD: FRAGMENT OF AN HYMN ON THE, ii. 388.  
*Good People, I, El'sabeth Douager Ad-ms*, ii. 575.  
 Good thout = good sense, i. 288.  
 Gost'ring = hectoring, i. 290.  
 Gothic, use of the word, i. 417.  
 GRACE, DOCTRINE OF, A STRICTURE ON WARBURTON'S, ii. 274.  
*Grace, to be sure, is in the last Degree*, ii. 496.  
 Gradeley = decent, proper, i. 288.  
 Grafton, Duchess of, i. 10.  
 Graham, i. 64.  
 "Grand-Master," a title of Byrom's, i. 73.  
 Grat, Saint, i. 374.  
 — Doctor, ii. 109.  
 Greaves (probably William), ii. 647.  
 Green, George Smith, perhaps "Mountebank Green," i. 368; *but see* ii. 650.  
 Greene, Dr. Maurice, Master of the King's Band, i. 36.  
 Gregory of Nazianzum, ii. 120.  
 Gresset, Jean-Baptist Louis, account of, i. 453.  
 Griffith, Maurice, Chaplain, afterwards Fellow of the Manchester Coll. Ch., i. 553.  
 Griselda, an opera, i. 36.  
 Groote, Gerald, notice of, ii. 429.  
 Groser, W. House, ii. 3.  
 Grosseteste, Bp. of Lincoln, ii. 632.  
 Grutch = grumble, i. 271.  
 Guardian Angels, ii. 435.  
 Guex = guess, i. 285.  
 Gunning, Dr. Peter, Bishop of Ely, notice of, ii. 422.  
 Gurnet, a fish, i. 39.  
 Guyon, Mdm., ii. 66, 79-82, 86, 116, 163, 383.  
 HACKET, Andrew, of Trin. Coll., Camb., i. 136.  
 Haddon, John, Rector of Warrington, i. 85, 90, 101; ii. 612; letter from Byrom to, on Mdle. Bourignon, ii. 626.  
 Hagg'd = jolted or dragged, i. 65.  
 Hall, Francis, Fellow of King's Coll., Camb., i. 109, 136.  
 — Justice, Jacobite rebel, i. 362, 366.  
 — Dr. Richard Edward, i. 219; ii. 641.  
 Halstead, Miss Eleanor, afterwards Mrs. Edward Byrom, ii. 97.  
 Hammond, Dr. Henry, account of, i. 353; ii. 590.  
 — Col. Robert, nephew of the preceding, i. 353.  
 Handel, Epigram on, i. 35, 147; ii. 577.  
 Happen = mayhap, i. 269.  
 HAPPINESS IN SUBMISSION TO THE DIVINE WILL, ii. 564.  
 Hardinge, Mr. Justice, i. 460.  
 Hare, Dr. Francis, Bp. of St. Asaph (1727), of Chichester (1731), i. 457.  
 Harland, John, his article on Byrom, ii. 573.  
 Harrington, Sir John, his epigram, i. 573.  
 HARRINGTON, TO THE EARL OF: AN APPEAL FOR MERCY, i. 379; ODE TO (in Latin), 579.  
 Hartland, —, inventor of a system of Short-hand, ii. 615.  
 Hartley, Dr. David (*see Remains*, i. 622), i. 395; ii. 369, 579.  
 Hassel or Hazel, a friend of Byrom, i. 40.  
 Hatel = hateful, i. 289.  
*Have ye no Scruple, Sirs, when ye rehearse*, i. 545.  
*Having shown you the Passage, one cannot avoid*, i. 496.  
 Hay, William, M.P., afterwards Keeper of the Records in the Tower, ii. 327-33.  
 H(aywood) or Heyward, Rev. John, i. 85, 90, 101; ii. 614.

- Hazlitt, William, i. 49.  
 Heathcote, —, i. 64.  
 Heberden, William, M.D., notice of, i. 487.  
*Hebrews*, ch. i. vv. 1-3, metrical paraphrase of, ii. 571.  
 Hed = heeded, i. 293.  
 Heddesdorf, Field-Marshal von, i. 430.  
 Hedges, —, ii. 1.  
 Henley, Orator, i. 102.  
 "Henry Hotspur," i. 309.  
 Heraclitus, Socrates' reply concerning his writings, ii. 333.  
*Here William lies, of Wykeham, by Sur-name*, i. 557.  
 HERMIT, THE, ii. 573.  
 Herrick, Robert, division of his poems, i. vii; metre of his "Noble Numbers," ii. 473.  
 Hervey, James, his "Theron and Aspasio," ii. 482.  
*He that [but] spoke it truly, brother John*, ii. 64.  
 Hicks, Dr. George, titular Bp. of Thetford, i. 369.  
 Hickswell, Mr., of St. Ann's Square, ii. 588.  
 High Church, i. 371.  
 High-Dutch = gibberish, i. 68.  
 Highland Plaid, the, i. 330.  
 Highwaymen, i. 62.  
 Hildesley, Bishop, Byrom's letter to, quoted, i. xiv; ii. 580.  
 Hiles, Henry, Mus. Doc., i. 31.  
 Hill, Aaron, notice of, i. 255; ii. 55.  
 Hilton, Mr., ii. 634.  
 HINT TO A YOUNG PERSON, FOR HIS BETTER IMPROVEMENT, &c., i. 133, 590.  
 HINT TO CHRISTIAN POETS, ii. 126.  
 Hoadly, i. 64.  
 Hobson, Cambridge carrier, i. 65.  
 Holbrook, Dr. and Mrs., ii. 606, 647.  
 • HOLY SCRIPTURES, ON THE DISPOSITION OF MIND REQUISITE FOR THE RIGHT USE AND UNDERSTANDING OF THE (two sets of verses), ii. 129, 130.  
 Homer, Three Epistles . . . on Iliad A, vv. 50-52, i. 483.  
 Homespun, Harry, *see* Dialogue with Sir John Jobson.  
 Homilies, the, i. 101.  
 Hondt = hand, i. 291.  
 Hoole, Joseph, Rector of St. Ann's, Manchester, i. 333, 351; ii. 464.  
 Hooper, Dr. Francis, Librarian of Chetnam's Library, i. 35, 136, 206; ii. 602.  
 HORACE, CRITICAL REMARKS IN ENGLISH AND LATIN UPON SEVERAL PASSAGES IN, 501-548.  
*Horace, "an infant" (here he interweaves)*, i. 530.  
 HORRID AND BARBAROUS ROBBERY IN EPPING FOREST, i. 62.  
*Hotspur, was very ready to turn out*, i. 310.  
 Houghton, John, of Baguley, ii. 64, 282, 584, 593, 596, 610, 616, 628, 630, 634, 646.  
 — Richard, ii. 523.  
 Howarth, A., Constable of Manchester, ii. 587.  
*How charming to be thus confin'd*, ii. 81.  
 HOW DIFFERS HISTORY, PRITHEE, FROM HISTORIANS? i. 313.  
 Howe, Charles, Byrom's verses on his *Meditations* not extant, ii. 581.  
*How rare the case, tho' common the Pretence*, i. 222.  
 HOW TO MOVE THE WORLD, i. 9.  
 Huff = swagger, i. 290.  
 Hugeous, i. 65, 269.  
 Hulme Fields, ii. 588.  
 Hulme Hall, co. Lancaster, i. 483.  
 HUMAN WILL, THE, ii. 563; HUMAN REASON, ii. 336.  
 HUMILITY, ii. 63.  
 Humourist, the, *see* Owen, Josiah.  
 Hunter, Mr., ii. 606.  
 Hurd, Richard, Bp. of Worcester, on Warburton's Sermons, i. 89, 234.  
 Hurlothrumbo, *see* Johnson, Samuel.  
 Hussey, Sir Harry, i. 220.  
 Hutcheson, Francis, his "System of Moral Philosophy," i. 240.  
 Hutton, James, Bookseller, ii. 74, 96.  
 HYMN FOR CHRISTMAS DAY, ii. 17, 19.  
 —, A THANKSGIVING, ii. 8.  
 — FOR EASTER DAY, ii. 41.  
 — ON THE EPIPHANY, ii. 23.  
 — ON THE DIVINE OMNIPRESENCE, ii. 11.  
 — TO JESUS, ii. 74.  
 — FROM THE FRENCH, ii. 79.  
 — TO JESUS, FROM THE LATIN OF ST. BERNARD, ii. 84.  
 — ON SIMPLICITY, ii. 99, 579.  
 Hymnology, i. xvi; *and see* Julian, John.  
 HYPOCRISY, ii. 534.  
 [ *AM a poor Workman as rich as a Jew*, i. 111.

- I have, with Attention, dear Vicar, re-pass'd*, ii. 299.  
*I heard two Neighbours talk, the other Night*, i. 204.  
*I hope that the Vicar will pardon the Haste*, ii. 294.  
*I love and honour a poor humble State*, ii. 111.  
*I love my God, and freely too*, ii. 399.  
*I muse, I doubt, I reason, and debate*, ii. 372.  
 Idlesleigh, Stafford Northcote, 1st Earl of, quoted, ii. 174.  
 Ierne = Ireland, i. 582.  
*If a man do but keep himself sober and stout*, i. 9.  
*If David knew not of a future Life*, ii. 514.  
*If Reason does each private Person bind*, ii. 52.  
*If you remember, Rev'rend Sir, the Talk*, ii. 305.  
 Illingworth, Thomas, ii. 587, 589, 608, 615.  
 IMITATIO CHRISTI (distich), ii. 561, 647; authorship of, *ib*.  
 IMMORTALITY, AN INTIMATION OF (Latin), ii. 558.  
 IMMORTALITY OF THE SOUL (translation of I. H. Browne's poem), ii. 538.  
 "Imputed Righteousness!" *Belov'd Friend*, ii. 486.  
 IMPUTED RIGHTEOUSNESS, THOUGHTS ON, ii. 482.  
*In Paul's Conversion we discern the Case*, ii. 136.  
*In Psalm, this Evening, order'd to be read*, ii. 105.  
*In reading Authors, when you find*, i. 133.  
*In some good Books one reads of a Divine*, ii. 384.  
 "In the Beginning was the Word," saith John, ii. 461.  
*In this unhappily divided State*, ii. 460.  
*In Truths that Nobody can miss*, i. 569.  
*Indeed, Sir Peter, I could wish, I own*, i. 106.  
 "IN NOVA FERT ANIMUS MUTATAS DICERE FORMAS CORPORA," i. 172.  
 Inns, *see* Taverns.  
 INOCULATION, ON, i. 203.  
*Integer vitæ scelerisque purus* (adapted), ii. 560.  
 INTEREST UPON CHARITY, ii. 534.  
*It will bear the repeating again and again*, ii. 423.  
 ITALIAN BISHOP, AN, an Anecdote, ii. 353.
- JACKSON**, Mr. F. M., ii. 649, 650, 651, 653.  
 Jacobi, Johann Christian, German pietist, ii. 87, 100, 580.  
 Jacobite and Non-juring Principles, &c., at Court, i. 299; in Manchester, 324; and *see* Owen, Josiah.  
 Jenner, Stephen, ii. 616.  
 Jennings, i. 394.  
*Jenny, come here: I'm told that you have been*, i. 325.  
*Jesus, ascended into Heaven again*, ii. 44.  
*Jesus is Crucified,—the previous Scene*, ii. 36.  
 Jesus take me and possess me, &c., Byrom's verses, not extant, ii. 579.  
*Jesu! Teach this Heart of mine*, ii. 100.  
*Jesu! The Soul that thinks on Thee*, ii. 85.  
 Jingoism (1758), i. 459.  
 "Jonathan Edwards, by this book's dition," ii. 526.  
 "John English" = Byrom, i. 309.  
 "John Shadow" = Byrom, i. 590.  
 Johnson, Samuel, *alias* Lord Flame, account of him, and of his *Hurolthrumbo*, i. 138-147; ii. 588; his *Cheshire Comics*, 588, 605.  
 — Dr. Samuel, and Lauder's forgeries, i. 183; on taking the Abjuration oath, 283; mentioned, i. 3, 43, 451, 574.  
 Johnston, Charles, his *Chrysal, or the Adventures of a Guinea*, i. 430.  
 Jonson, Ben, i. 33.  
 Jordans, William, ii. 429.  
 "Jug," *see* Bentley, Joanna.  
 Julian, John, *Dictionary of Hymnology*, quoted, i. xvii; ii. 3, 20, 74, 82, 85, 100, 510.  
 Julius Cæsar, an opera, i. 30.  
 Jurin, Dr., afterwards President of the Royal College of Physicians, i. 64, 203.  
 "Justice demandeth Satisfaction,"—*Yes*, ii. 31.
- KΑΙΡΟΣ**, St. Mark, xi. 13; ii. 635.  
 Kempis, Thomas à, ii. 63, 630.  
 Ken, Bishop, his writings, ii. 114; mentioned, i. 573, ii. 511.  
 Kenyon, Anne, afterwards Mrs. Booth, ii. 628.  
 — Thomas or George, ii. 608.  
 Kex = hollow stem of the common hemlock, i. 294.  
 Kilmarnock, William Boyd, 4th Earl of, account of, i. 316.  
 King's Arms, *see* Taverns.

Kirkhall, Elisha, an engraver, ii. 635, 645.  
 Kitling = a very small fiddle, i. 32.  
 Κισσῶν, i. 497.  
 Knatchbull, i. 3.  
 Knight, i. 85.  
 Knight, Sir John, Jacobite M.P. for Bristol, i. 306.  
 KNOWING AND DOING, ii. 562.  
 Koran, the, on the attitude of Mahomedans to Christianity, ii. 265.  
 Kóves, meaning of, i. 483.  
 LACTANTIUS, Byrom reads his works, ii. 605, 607.  
*Ladies and Gentlemen, my Lord of Flame*, i. 143.  
 LADY'S LOVE, A, *see* Epigrams.  
 La Fare, Marquis de, French poet, i. 453.  
 La Fontaine, Byrom a reader of, i. 168.  
 Lamb, Charles, Epigram by, i. 37; mentioned, i. 243, 246.  
 Lampe, E., letters to and from, ii. 591.  
 LANCASHIRE DIALOGUE, A, OCCASIONED BY A CLERGYMAN PREACHING WITHOUT NOTES, i. 267.  
 Lancashire, its dialect, i. 265, 291; feeling in, towards the Highlanders, i. 275; dialogues in the dialect, i. 265.  
 Lancaster, Captain, ii. 594.  
 — Rev. Nathaniel, L.L.D., i. 91; ii. 578, 601.  
 — Rev. Peter, Vicar of Bowdon, four Epistles to, i. 499; ii. 282, 624.  
 Language, Origin of, i. 404.  
 LATIN VERSE.—*In Calvum*, i. 577; *In Euudem*, 577; *In Euudem*, 578; epigram, 579; Ode to the Earl of Harrington, 579; An Intimation of Immortality, ii. 558; *Laudes Antoniette*, 558; *Integer Vite* (adapted), 560; *Imitatio Christi*, 561; Knowing and Doing, 562; Thy Will be Done, 562; The Human Will, 563; The Lord's Prayer, 564; Happiness in Submission to the Divine Will, 564; Little Faith, 565; Gnomie Philosophy, 565; Self-Surrender to God, 566.  
 Lauder, William, his charge of plagiarism against Milton, i. 178.  
 LAUDES ANTONIETTÆ, ii. 558.  
 Lavington, Bp., ii. 173.  
 Law, William, mentioned *passim*; character of his writings, their influence on Byrom, i. xx; ii. 484; his *Serious Call*, i. 196; ii. 440, 485; his *Spirit of Love*, ii. 135, 392, 402, 405, 409, 410, 468, 470, 476; Warburton's estimate of, ii. 274;

his *Spirit of Prayer*, ii. 139, 378, 462, 473, 520; Byrom paraphrases part of, ii. 166; his *Appeal to all that Doubt*, ii. 371, 376, 436, 472; on Regeneration, ii. 374, 437, 462; on the Atonement, ii. 401; his *Dialogue between a Methodist and a Churchman*, ii. 418; his *Humble Address to the Clergy*, ii. 416, 500; his *Case of Reason*, &c., ii. 336; his *Way to Divine Knowledge*, ii. 313; his *Animadversions upon Dr. Trapp's Reply*, ii. 170, 395; his letter to J. L., ii. 439, 459; Byrom's verses on his *Needle and Loadstone*, not extant, 579; his cosmogony, ii. 468; mentioned i. v, xiii, xix, 126; ii. 66, 90, 126, 170, 439, 635.  
*Led by the Guidance of a living Star*, ii. 23.  
 Lees, Jonathan, ii. 587, 608.  
 — John, ii. 587, 589, 614.  
 Leet it daoon = swallowed it, i. 285.  
 Legh, Egerton, Archdeacon of Salop, ii. 630.  
 — George, of High Legh, i. 45.  
 — Peter, of Lyme, ii. 596, 609, 616, 630.  
 LESLIE V. BOURIGNON, ii. 65, 619, 637.  
 LETTER, A, TO A FRIEND UPON THE MEANING OF "SPEAKING WITH TONGUES", ii. 305.  
 — A, TO A LADY ON KEN'S POEMS, ii. 114.  
 — A, TO THE MASTER-TOOL (*see* Owen, Josiah), i. 300.  
 — A, TO R(ALPH) L(EYCESTER), i. 30; ii. 597, 641.  
 — TO THE SAME, ON HIS DEPARTURE FROM LONDON, i. 38.  
 Letters from Byrom to Mr. Haddon on Bourignon, ii. 624; to John Stansfield on the same, 642; to Mrs. Mort, 637.  
 Lever, Mr. Ashton (Assheton), i. 109; ii. 616, 630.  
 — Sir Darcy, i. 45; ii. 587, 595, 628.  
 — Fanny, ii. 636.  
 Leveridge, Richard, a singer, i. 3.  
 Lewis XIV., his death, i. 24.  
 — Mr., ii. 612.  
 Leycester, George, of Toft, co. Chester, i. 30.  
 — Ralph, son of the preceding and friend of Byrom, called "Sir Peter," i. 30, 106; letters in verse to, i. 30, 38; verses to, on his sending the author a Hare, 243; other verses on a similar occasion, 248; prose letters from Byrom to, ii. 597, 641; mentioned, i. vi, 10, 27, 47, 55, 79, 90, 94; ii. 577, 594, 616, 630, 640.

- Liddell, Sir Harry, afterwards Lord Ravensworth, i. 220.
- LIFE AND DEATH, ON THE TRUE MEANING OF THE SCRIPTURE TERMS, WHEN APPLIED TO MEN, ii. 376.
- Lightbowne, James, ii. 608, 616, 630.
- Lightfoot, Dr. John, Master of St. Cath. Hall, Camb., ii. 207.
- Lindsay, John, account of, ii. 439; letter to Byrom, 500; mentioned, 175, 305.
- LINES ON A CONTESTED ELECTION TO A FELLOWSHIP OF THE MANCHESTER COLL. CHURCH, i. 549.
- TO STEPHEN DUCK, i. 215.
- Litter, use of the, ii. 630.
- LITTLE FAITH, ii. 565.
- Lloyd, Gamaliel, of Hulme Hall, Manchester, i. 110, 483; ii. 585, 588, 589, 608, 616, 628, 630, 646.
- LLOYD, GEORGE, THREE EPISTLES TO, ON A PASSAGE IN HOMER, i. 483.
- Robert, quoted, i. 417, 422, 423.
- Long was the great Figg by the prize-fighting Swains*, i. 49.
- Lonsdale, Henry, 3rd Viscount, Lord Privy Seal (1733-5), i. 583.
- Looby = clown, i. 69.
- LOOK AT HOME! i. 567.
- LORD'S PRAYER, THE (Latin metrical version of), ii. 564; PARAPHRASE OF, ii. 13; in Manx, 596; jottings on, 629.
- LOVE, AND THE FEAR OF GOD, THE, ii. 536.
- LOVERS OF LIBERTY, i. 303.
- Lowton, co. Lancaster, i. 26.
- Ludgate (London), a prison, i. 297.
- Lukko me = ? i. 278.
- Lydd, or Lynn, Mr., ii. 610.
- Lyttleton, George, Lord, quoted, ii. 134, 173.
- M**AC or Mak = sort, kind, i. 279, 286.
- Macaulay, Lord, quoted, i. 10, 15, 437, 439.
- Macclesfield, Thomas Parker, Earl of, notice of, i. 46.
- Macdonald, Alexander, a Highland soldier, i. 275.
- Machine = vehicle, i. 240.
- Ma'en = maken, i. 287.
- Magi, the, ii. 23.
- Mahomet, i. 595.
- Mainwaring, Peter, M.D., i. 10, 143; ii. 601, 613.
- Malcolm's *Manners of London*, i. 48.
- Malebranche, Nicolas de, Byrom buys a portrait of, i. 77; lines on the occasion, 79; mentioned, ii. 610, 616, 635, 645.
- Malyn, Robert (the Harper), ii. 595.
- Manchester, bulk of the clergy, Jacobite, i. 332, 361; the Young Pretender in, i. 275; Infirmary founded, i. 570; ii. 341; Grammar School, i. 148; disputes as to the Lord's Mill, i. 109; officers of the "Manchester Regiment" executed as rebels, i. 301; Workhouse Bill (1731) defeated, i. 220; and for various negotiations, *see* Appendix V.; St. Ann's Church and Square, ii. 588.
- Manchester Magazine, formerly the Manchester Gazette, notice of, i. 295; mentioned and quoted, 300, 301, 304, 306, 309, 311, 312, 314, 327, 347, 350, 353; ii. 575.
- Manchester Rebels, the, a Song, i. 327, 330.
- Manchester Vindicated*, notice of, i. 295; mentioned and quoted, 300, 301, 303, 304, 309, 311, 312, 314, 315, 316, 323, 324, 327, 330, 332, 347, 350, 352, 364, 366, 378.
- Manchester Weekly Paper* (Adams'), ii. 20.
- Maningham, Dr., i. 67.
- Manington, Miss, ii. 3.
- "*Mankind's Redemption*," *you are pleas'd to say*, ii. 480.
- Mann, Mr., ii. 604.
- Manwaring, Sir Thomas, i. 30.
- Many thanks have been order'd this Day to attend*, ii. 289.
- Marcile, Theodore, i. 547.
- Marlborough, Duchess of, a patron of Bononcini, i. 36, 83.
- Marybone Plains, or "Fields," i. 49.
- Masen, Jacob, Lauder accuses Milton of plagiarist from, i. 188.
- Mason, John, of Cheshunt, co. Herts, i. 387, 412, 419.
- Masson, Prof., on "Paradise Lost," i. 181.
- Master, Legh, elder brother of the next, ii. 603.
- Streyngsham, Rector of Croston, ii. 603.
- Master-Tool, the, *see* Owen, Josiah.
- Maurice, F. D., Sermon on "*The Adoration of the Lamb*," ii. 401.
- MEDITATIONS FOR EVERY DAY IN PASSION WEEK, ii. 27.
- Memorial abstract of a Sermon by Mr. H—, ii. 464.

Merchants' Coffee House, *see* Coffee Houses.  
 Mercury, transit of, i. 21.  
 MERCY AND COMPASSION, ON WORKS OF, ii. 418.  
 Meredith, Amos, writes a prologue to "*Hurlothrumbo*," i. 138, 141.  
 Merewether, Dr., ii. 122.  
 Meusel, Wolfgang, ii. 3.  
 Michel, Theophilus, on Byrom's theory of Shorthand, i. 398.  
 Middleton, Conyers, D.D., ii. 139, 199, 207-8.  
 Mildmay, i. 136, 139.  
 Mills, Mr., i. 2.  
 Milner, George, on the Lancashire Dialect, i. 266; and mentioned *passim*.  
 Milton, John, i. xxi, xxiv, 5, 65, 178, 417; ii. 153.  
 MINCE-PIE, i. 206.  
 Minorca, loss of, i. 429.  
 MISO-MANC AND COMPANY, TO, i. 312.  
 MISS ———'S OBSERVATION UPON THE LATIN MOTTO, i. 301.  
 Mitre, the, *see* Taverns.  
 Molineux, T., Teacher of Shorthand, &c., in Man. Gr. Sch., ii. 573.  
*Monarque, the*, *see* Byng.  
*Monitor, or British Freeholder*, i. 431.  
 Montagu, John, 2nd Duke of, i. 583.  
 — Lady Mary Wortley, i. 203.  
*Montanism, History of*, ii. 596.  
*Monthly Review*, i. x, 2, 411.  
 Montpelier, Byrom at, i. 9.  
 Moore till = more than, i. 284.  
 More, Henry, i. 156.  
 Morgan, Captain David, a Manchester Martyr, i. 334.  
 — Dr. J., notice of, i. 38, 41; ii. 641.  
 Mort, Mrs., Byrom's letter to, ii. 637.  
*Moses, to whom, by a peculiar Grace*, i. 232.  
 MOSES' VISION, i. xvii. 232.  
 Mosley, Sir Oswald, i. 30, 570; Sir O. M. and the Manchester Workhouse scheme, ii. 578, 587, 590, 607, 609, 613, 614.  
 Moss, Thomas, i. 549, 551, 570.  
 MOTE AND THE BEAM, THE, ii. 536.  
 Mun = must, i. 268.  
*Muzie Scévola*, an opera, i. 35.  
*My Lord, Untaught by Nature or by Art*, ii. 348.  
*My Reason is I, and your Reason is you*, i. 569.  
*My Spirit longeth for Thee*, ii. 83.  
*My time, O ye Muses, was happily spent*, i. 5.

N AMBY-Pamby, i. 455.  
 NATURALIZATION BILL, ON THE, i. 305-9.  
 NATURAL KNOWLEDGE AND HEAVENLY WISDOM, ii. 530.  
 Nature, ii. 468.  
 Neander, *History of the Planting, &c., of the Christian Church*, quoted, ii. 136.  
 Newcastle, Duke of, i. 74, 429.  
 New House = Covent Garden Theatre, i. 145.  
 Newton, John, Bp. of Bristol, his edition of *Paradise Lost*, i. 178.  
 — John, of Olney, ii. 173, 523.  
 — Widow, ii. 632.  
 Nichol, Prof. John, his play, *Hannibal*, quoted, i. 9.  
 Nichols, Benj., M.A., Curate of St. Ann's, Manchester, afterwards Rector of Eccles, i. 333, 334.  
 Nichols, Dr., i. 3.  
 Nicolaes, Henrick, founder of the "*Family of Love*," ii. 449.  
 NICOLAS, ARMEILLE, HER ACCOUNT OF HERSELF, ii. 86.  
 Nicolaus, J., his *Tractatus de Siglis Veterum*, ii. 614.  
 Nicolls (perhaps Josiah), ii. 616.  
 Nield, Miles, ii. 584, 606.  
*Nil moror an Thomas exscripserit anne Joannes*, ii. 561.  
 Nim and nimmers = steal and thieves, i. 193.  
 NIMMERS, THE, i. xvii, 43, 193.  
 Noctuary, i. 595.  
 Nomminies = speeches (? homilies), i. 270.  
*Non esse dices, credo, poeticum*, i. 536.  
*Non quod ego insipicus cupiam, sed in omnibus illud*, ii. 567.  
*No office seems more sacred and august*, ii. 253.  
 Norris of Bemerton, Byrom's verses on his 139th Psalm not extant, ii. 578.  
 Norton Thomas, on Predestination, ii. 502.  
*No, Sir, I cannot see to what good End*, ii. 516.  
 Nourse, i. 35.  
*Now upon Sale, a bankrupt Island*, i. 309.  
*Nullâ tu poteris fieri felicior arte*, ii. 565.

O AK-APPLE DAY, i. 314.  
 Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy, i. 281.

- O born of a Virgin most lovely and meek*,  
ii. 113.  
*O come, let us sing to the Lord a new Song*,  
ii. 8.  
*O Force of Truth, beyond suppression great*,  
ii. 198.  
*O Goodness of God, more exceedingly great*,  
ii. 388.  
*O happy Resignation*, ii. 369.  
*O Heavenly Father! Gracious God above!*  
ii. 167.  
*O Lord, Thou hast known me and searched  
me out*, ii. 11.  
*O Merciful Lord! by the Good Which  
Thou art*, ii. 430.  
*O Thomas, did you see my Beard*, i. 227.  
*O Thou, whose Powerful Word gave birth*,  
ii. 69, 578, 626.  
*Of all Companions that a Man can choose*,  
i. 163.  
*Of Man's Obedience while in Eden blest*,  
ii. 521.  
*Of true Religion Works of Mercy seem*, ii.  
419.  
Oglethorpe, General, ii. 96.  
*Oh! That the Muse might call, without  
offence*, i. 571.  
Okely, Francis, ii. 179.  
*Old Æsop so famous was certainly right*,  
i. 160.  
Old House = Drury Lane Theatre, i. 145.  
*Old Troy was a town of high renown*, i.  
212.  
Oldham, Hugh, Bp. of Exeter, i. 184.  
*On this auspicious, memorable Morn*, ii. 17.  
*Once on a time a certain Man was found*,  
i. 198.  
*One Father Jerdan once bestowed a gun*, i.  
219.  
"One God the Father."—Certainly, *this  
Term*, ii. 49.  
One Son one Saviour, &c., Byrom's verses  
not extant, ii. 579.  
ONE THING WANTING, i. 330.  
"Operamania," i. 31.  
Ord, James, i. 35, 47, 81.  
Orford Hall, co. Lancaster, i. 477, 482.  
ORIGIN OF POETRY, THE, i. 410.  
"Ouranius," ii. 485; and see Law, Wil-  
liam.  
Ophëes, meaning of, i. 483.  
*Our Folks, gone a-visiting, Reverend Sir*,  
ii. 284.  
*Our President, in Days of Yore*, i. 95.  
*Our worthy Founder, Gentlemen, this Day*,  
i. 184.
- OUTWARD LAW, ON THE NATURE AND  
REASON OF, ii. 413.  
Overton, Canon, quoted, on William Law,  
i. xxix; ii. 142, 178, 450, 485.  
Owen, Josiah, Unitarian Minister at Kesh-  
dale, account of, i. 352, 358.  
Oxford, Wykeham's foundation at, i. 557.
- PAD = path, i. 160.  
Pantheism, ii. 408.  
Pantomimes, i. 174.  
Papish = declared a Recusant, i. 202.  
Paracelsus, i. 368.  
Paraguay, the Jesuits at, i. 300.  
Paring = shovel, i. 60.  
Parker, Mr., ii. 608.  
Parkinson, Richard, Canon of Manchester,  
his edition of Byrom's *Private Journal  
and Literary Remains* (Chetham Society),  
quoted *passim*, i. iv, 20, 210; ii. 305.  
Parr, or Parnam, or Parnham, Mr., ii.  
614.  
*Partner of all my joys and cares*, ii. 97.  
PASCAL'S CHARACTER OF HIMSELF, ii.  
110.  
PASSION-WEEK, MEDITATIONS FOR EVERY  
DAY IN, ii. 27.  
PASSIVE PARTICIPLE'S PETITION, i. 223.  
PASTORAL, A, i. xii, xv, xxviii, 11 and  
see Divine Pastoral, A.  
PATIENCE, ON, i. 126.  
Partridge the Almanac-maker, i. 19.  
PATRON OF ENGLAND, ON THE, i. xl,  
465.  
Pattison, Mark, on Malebranche, i. 78;  
on Enthusiasm, ii. 173.  
*Paucis, Friend Aphanus, abhinc Diebus*,  
i. 561.  
Paul, Parson, i. 362.  
Paul's Head, see Taverner.  
Paul's Walk, i. 41.  
Peak, the, co. Derby, i. 16.  
Pegge, Dr. Samuel, on St. George, i. xl,  
465, 467; mentioned, 477, 484.  
Pegu, i. 369.  
Pelham, Henry, Chanc. of the Ex. (1743),  
i. 331.  
PENITENTIAL SOLILOQUY, ii. 53.  
Penny, Mr., of Toft, ii. 594.  
Peploe, Samuel, Bp. of Chester, ii. 575,  
608.  
— the younger, notice of, i. 553.  
Peter the Great, treaty with Ahmed III., i.  
22.  
PETER'S DENIAL OF HIS MASTER, ii. 245.  
Pettingal, Dr., on St. George, i. 468.

- Pew, the moving (18th century), i. 241.  
 Pharum, London bookseller, i. 2.  
 PHEBE'S FAN, ii. 68.  
 "Philalethes," ii. 173; *and see* Rump  
 Parliament, the.  
 Philip, Duke of Orleans, Regent of France  
 (1715), i. 23.  
 Phillips, Ambrose, i. 31.  
 Philo Judæus, ii. 595, 597.  
 "Philo-Mancuniensis," i. 309.  
 Pigot, Thomas, ii. 587, 589, 607, 608,  
 610, 615.  
 Pitt, William, Earl of Chatham, i. 252,  
 430.  
*Plain Dealer, the*, ii. 55.  
 Plato, his Phædrus, i. 240.  
 Pleck = place, i. 273, 291.  
 Plumptre, Dr., F.R.S., i. 220.  
 — E. H., Dean of Wells, Life of Ken,  
 i. 102; ii. 114, 188, 211.  
 PLURAL AND SINGULAR, i. 558.  
 Podmore, Thomas, a barber in Manches-  
 ter, i. 227.  
 "Poeta nascitur, non fit," origin of, un-  
 known, i. 401.  
 PORTASTER, THE, i. 74.  
 POETICAL VERSION, A, OF A LETTER FROM  
 ESSEX TO SOUTHAMPTON, ii. 345.  
 — A, OF A LETTER FROM BEHMEN TO  
 A FRIEND, ii. 358.  
*Poetry at first began*, i. 410.  
 Poirêt, Pierre, ii. 86, 163, 563, 617, 618.  
 POLITICS, ON CLERGYMEN PREACHING,  
 i. 106.  
 POND, THE, i. 196.  
 Ponthieu, Mr., Byrom's letter to, ii. 130.  
 POOR IN SPIRIT, THE, ii. 64.  
 Pope, Alexander, mentioned and quoted,  
 i. x, xii, xv, xix, xxiv, xxv, 5, 13, 32,  
 35, 48, 52, 53, 74, 310, 339, 389, 396,  
 397; Epigram on Stephen Duck, i.  
 215.  
 POTTER, THE, AND HIS CLAY, ii. 509.  
 POWDER WITHOUT SHOT, i. 137.  
 Powell, William, Dean of St. Asaph, ii.  
 575.  
 PRAVER (two distichs), ii. 532.  
 — A, FROM MR. LAW'S SPIRIT OF  
 PRAVER, ii. 166, 532.  
 Preaching, Advice to preach slow, i. 85;  
 on extempore, 101, 267; epigram on,  
 ii. 381.  
 PREDESTINATION AND REPROBATION,  
 THOUGHTS ON, ii. 500.  
 Preston Pans, battle of, i. 298.  
 Pretender, the Old, i. 345.  
 Pretender, the Young, *see* Charles Edward.  
 Prichard, Mr., ii. 616, 628, 630.  
 Prickt Dances, i. 57.  
 Prideaux, Mr., i. 64.  
 Prior, Edward, i. 4.  
 — Matthew, mentioned and quoted, i.  
 i, xvii, xxix, 121, 574.  
 Prize fighting, i. 48.  
 PROCRASTINATION, ii. 533.  
 Prodicus' *Hercules*, Byrom's verses on, not  
 extant, ii. 578.  
*Profound Humility! Of every Grace*, ii.  
 63, 631.  
 Promise of a Saviour, Byrom's verses on,  
 not extant, ii. 577.  
 PROPHECY, REMARKS ON MIDDLETON'S,  
 ii. 198.  
 PROVERBS, CH. XX., V. 27, SERMON ON,  
 ii. 464.  
 Psalms, metrical versions of the, i. xviii;  
 of Psalm xxiii, ii. 23; soliloquy on read-  
 ing Psalm xxxvii, ii. 105.  
 Purnell, William, High Master of the Man-  
 chester Gr. School, i. 150, 570; ii. 581.  
*Pythagoras, an ancient Sage, opin'd*, i. 172.  

**Q**UÆ mens sit hujus carminis, obsecro,  
 i. 542.  
 Quakers, the, i. 556, 558; ii. 191, 592,  
 618; *and see* Rogers, Dr. John.  
 QUID AND THE QUIS, THE, i. 569.  
*Quid memoras Nomen Sacrum, si parvula*  
*Christi*, ii. 559.

**R**AFFALD, Elisabeth (née Whitaker),  
 i. 383.  
 Raines, Canon, i. 26, 149, 151.  
 Ravallac, François, i. 373.  
 Rawthmels, *see* Coffee Houses.  
 REASON, THOUGHTS UPON HUMAN, ii.  
 327, 336.  
 Rebus, ascribed to Lord Chesterfield, i.  
 560.  
 RECOMPENSE OF CHARITY, THE, ii. 534.  
 REDEMPTION OF MANKIND, EXPOSTU-  
 LATION WITH A CLERGYMAN (two sets  
 of verses), ii. 476, 480.  
 Reeves, Dr., i. 136.  
 Regeneration, ii. 437.  
*Religion, Church-Communion, or the Way*,  
 ii. 440.  
*Religion's Meaning, when I would recall*,  
 ii. 164.  
 REMARKS ON MIDDLETON'S EXAMINA-  
 TION OF SHERLOCK'S DISCOURSES ON  
 PROPHECY, ii. 198; cf. i. xxvii.

- REMARKS ON EPISTLES FROM ARISTIPPUS IN RETIREMENT, i. 448; cf. 36.  
 — ON DR. BROWN'S ESTIMATE, &c., i. 436.  
 — UPON AKENSIDE AND WHITEHEAD'S VERSES, i. 459.  
 Renty, M. de, Byrom's verses on, not extant, ii. 579.  
 REPENTANCE, ii. 531.  
 RESIGNATION, ii. 71, 355, 369.  
 Respice finem, i. 406.  
 Resurrection, Byrom's verses on, not extant, ii. 577.  
 Restoration Day (May 29), i. 314.  
 REWARDS OF THE CONTENTED, ii. 532.  
 Reynolds, Thomas, of Strangeways, ii. 584, 607, 633.  
 Rhyming Verse, i. xxvii, 387, 414, and see Defence of Rime, A.  
 Ribs, thirty three this D—n had he, &c., Byrom's verses not extant, ii. 578.  
 Richard's, see Coffee Houses (Dick's).  
 Richards, Rev. John, High Master of Manchester Gr. School, i. 148.  
 Richardson, Samuel, i. 259; ii. 139, 141, 175.  
 Richmond, Charles Lennox, 2nd Duke of, Byrom addresses Latin Verses to, i. 64 (and see *Remains*, ii. 444).  
 Ringwaldt, Bartholomæus, German hymn writer, ii. 3.  
 "Rochdale Corporation, the," a Jacobite Club, i. 359.  
 Rodelinda, an opera, i. 30.  
 Rogers, Dr. John, Vicar of St. Giles, Cripplegate, his *Persuasive to Conformity*, ii. 520; notice of, 521.  
 Ross, or Rous, Francis, ii. 2.  
 Royal Society, i. 63; ii. 188.  
 RUMP PARLIAMENT, A HISTORICAL QUESTION, i. 309; others, 310, 311.  
 RUSBROCHUS, or RUYSBROECK, JOHN, THE PRAYER OF, ii. 427; notice of, *ib.*  
 Russel Family motto, i. 21.  
 "Russian Scandal," a round game, i. 151.  
 SABBATH, Philo Judæus on the, ii. 597.  
*Sacred Attention! True effectual Prayer!* ii. 434.  
*Safer to reconcile a Fox, than make, i.* 568.  
 St. Bernard, the Jubilus of, ii. 84.  
 ST. CECILIA'S HYMN, ii. 112.  
 St. Denys, i. 471; ii. 650.  
 St. George, see Patron of England, on the; also ii. 577.  
 St. John the Baptist, see Epistle to J. Bl—k—n.  
 ST. PAUL, ON THE CONVERSION OF, ii. 134, 173.  
 ST. PHILIP NERI AND THE YOUTH, i. 230.  
*Saint Philip Neri, as old Readings say, i.* 230.  
 St. Theresa, ii. 591.  
 Sanadon, Noel Etienne, notice of, i. 518.  
 Sanner = sooner, i. 272.  
 Saunter, to, its former meaning, ii. 204.  
*"Say to the Sermon?" Why you all were by, ii.* 279.  
 Scaliger, J. C., quoted, i. 532.  
 Scheffler, Johann, ii. 580.  
 Scholes, or Scholz, a Manchester doctor, ii. 635.  
 Scott, Dr. Daniel, ii. 645.  
 — Jos., ii. 633.  
 SECTARIST, AN EXPOSTULATION WITH A ZEALOUS, ii. 516.  
 Seekers, the, a religious sect, i. 211.  
*See represented here, in Light and Shade, ii.* 59.  
 Seet = sight, i. 293.  
 Selden, quoted, i. 467, 469, 473.  
 SELF-SUBORDINATION OF REASON, THE, i. 569.  
 SELF-SURRENDER TO GOD, ii. 556.  
 Sen = say, i. 284.  
 Senesino, Italian male Soprano, notice of, i. 30, 32.  
 Sermons, Eighteenth century, i. 86.  
 Serpent (Gen. ch. iii.), ii. 153.  
*Set not the Faults of other Folks in view, i.* 567.  
 Sharp, Dr. Thomas, i. 448.  
 Shaw, Mr., ii. 595.  
 — W. A., his services in transcribing the *Chetham Library MS.*, ii. 583.  
 Sheds = shades, i. 289.  
 Sherbrooke, —, "young," ii. 605.  
 Sherlock, Thomas, Bp. of London, his Discourses on Prophecy, ii. 138, 199; quoted, 39, 206.  
 Shirley, Lady Fanny, called "Saint Fanny," ii. 483.  
 Shorthand, and Shorthand Club, i. 90, 94, 253, 395; ii. 585, 615, 616.  
*Should a good Angel and a bad between, i.* 570.  
 Shrigley, William, Chaplain of the Manchester Coll. Ch., ii. 607, 608.  
*Si Christi mandata sequi non possumus, eheu!* ii. 562.

- Sidebottom, Samuel, M.A., Rector of Middleton, ii. 587, 634.  
 "Silvaducensis," his *Kingdom of the Soul*, ii. 73, 344.  
 SIMPLE CONFESSION, A, ii. 102.  
 SIMPLICITY, HYMN ON, ii. 99.  
*Since Philaethes will indite no more*, i. 310.  
 SINNERS, ii. 535.  
*Sir, in my mind, this is but half a Bill*, i. 306.  
 SIR LOWBRED O—N, OR THE HOT-TENTOT KNIGHT, i. 358.  
 Sir Peter, *see* Leycester, Ralph.  
 Sirrah, etymology of, i. 6.  
*Sir, upon casting an attentive Look*, ii. 144.  
*Sirs, I've no Taste for a contesting Pother*, i. 550.  
 Skill = distinguish, i. 292.  
*Stain is the good old Cause, when Philaeth*, i. 312.  
 Slaughter's, *see* Coffee Houses.  
 Sleigh, —, Byrom's Aunt, ii. 635.  
 Smith, Dr. Robert, Master of Trinity Coll., Camb., i. 395, 448.  
 Smithills (or Widehill) near Bolton, property of the Byrom family, ii. 596.  
 Snuff, i. 57.  
 SOCRATES' REPLY CONCERNING HERACLITUS' WRITINGS, ii. 333.  
 Solifidian, the, ii. 498.  
 Some chronic matters, &c., Byrom's verses not extant, ii. 578.  
*Some say, compar'd to Bononcini*, i. 37.  
*So Romulus his Empire founded whilom*, i. 307.  
 Sout = sought, i. 292.  
 Sough = a covered drain, i. 200.  
 Soul, personification of the, ii. 327-8, 336, 421; Immortality of, 538; Transmigration of, i. 172.  
 SOUL'S TENDENCY TOWARDS ITS TRUE CENTRE, ii. 420.  
 Southampton, Henry Wriothesley, 3rd Earl of, letter from the Earl of Essex, ii. 345.  
 Spanangle, John, a follower of Law, ii. 485.  
 Sparkhall, A. B., his transcript of short-hand portions of Chetham Library MS., ii. 583.  
 SPEAKING WITH (IN) TONGUES, ii. 305.  
 SPECIOUS AND SUPERFICIAL WRITERS, ON, i. 222.  
*Spectator, The*, Byrom's contributions in prose, i. 590; in verse, i. xii, 1, 2, 10, 55; ii. 595-6.  
 Spenser, Edmund, Byrom a reader of, i. xxiv; mentioned and quoted, 49, 55.  
 Spinozism and Spinoza, ii. 468, 470.  
 SPIRIT, THE, OF PRAYER AND THANKSGIVING, ii. 535.  
 SPIRITUAL PRIDE, ON THE CAUSE, &c., OF, ii. 380.  
*Spondæo a stabili, si numeros modo*, i. 534.  
 Stage Coach, *see* Coaches and Coaching.  
 Stage Plays, Byrom's aversion to, i. 139, 218, 259; ii. 127, 605.  
 Stanhope, Charles, i. 579, 583; ii. 628.  
 Stanley, Sir Edward, M.P. for Lancaster, ii. 608.  
 Stansfield, John, Byrom's letters to, i. 2, 9, 77; ii. 51, 635, 642.  
 Staples, Mr., i. 47.  
 STATUE IN CHEAPSIDE, EPIGRAM ON THE, i. 214; ii. 646.  
 Stephen, Leslie, on Byrom, i. ix, xix; on Coward, 57; on Atterbury, i. 102; on Dr. John Brown, 436, 439; on Bp. Clayton, ii. 49; on Lord Lyttelton, 134; on Bp. Middleton, 203, 211, 248; on Bolingbroke, 331; on Spinoza, 470; on Hervey, 483; on Jonathan Edwards, 525; *History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century*, quoted, i. ix, xix, 102, 237, 240, 242, 437; ii. 49, 134, 211, 248, 301, 331, 483.  
*Stones towards the Earth descend*, ii. 421.  
 Stray = straw, i. 273.  
 Stricture on Warburton's *Doctrine of Grace*, ii. 274.  
 Stringer, J. Lees, ii. 604.  
*Strong Passions draw, like Horses that are strong*, i. 240.  
 Stuarts, or Stewarts, descent of, i. 279.  
 Stukeley, Dr. William, notice of, i. 476.  
 — Dr. Thomas, i. 448.  
*Success the First, beget Success the Second*, i. 304.  
 Sun, the, *see* Taverns.  
*Suppose an Heater burning in the Fire*, ii. 381.  
 Sutton, Charles W., i. 63, 351, 359; ii. 571, 573, 574, 623.  
 Swarston Bridge, co. Derby, i. 299.  
 SWEARING, ADMONITION AGAINST, i. 571.  
 Swedish Politics (18th cent.), i. 304.

Swift, Jonathan, Epigram on Stephen Duck, i. 216; mentioned and quoted, i. 19, 35, 305.  
 Swingeing (Lanc.) = great, huge, i. 297.  
 Swinton, Sub-Dean, friend of Byrom, i. 90; ii. 594, 616, 630, 641.  
 Syddall, Thomas, Barber in Manchester, notice of, i. 227, 301, 334, 350, 354.  
 Syddall, Thomas, the elder, executed, i. 354.  
 Sylvester, Joshua, Lines assigned to, i. 117.

**T**ABLEY Hall (Lower), co. Chester, ii. 594.

Taine, H., quoted, i. xv, 399.  
*Take up the Cross which thou hast got*, ii. 370.

Tak o' reete = take your right, i. 279.  
 "Tale?" *That will raise the Question, I suppose*, i. 152.

Tally = the other half, i. 306.

Tan = taken, i. 286.

Tarvin, co. Chester, ii. 594.

Tauler, J., Byrom's acquaintance with the writings of, ii. 383, 429; mentioned, 579.

Taverns.—*London*: Bull, i. 38, 65; Bear and Harrow, i. 136; Devil's, i. 137; King's Arms, 139; Lion, 30; Mitre, 38, 207; Paul's Head, 78; Sun, 64, 126; *Manchester*: Bull's Head, 109; ii. 635; *Bridgnorth*: Swan, 213; Talbot 213; *Chester*: Crown, ii. 595.

Taylor, "Oculist," i. 368.

— Richard, ii. 587.

TE DEUM, ii. 69.

Telfer, or Tessier, Dr., ii. 606.

Tell'n, Old-English plural, i. 268.

*Tempora dum facile Sapiens elapsa revolvit*, ii. 558.

TESTS, ON, i. 300.

Thackeray, W. M., *The Virginians*, quoted, i. 13, 17, 48, 50.

Thame = Thames, i. 49.

THANKSGIVING HYMN, A, i. xxvi; ii. 8.

*That "God is love," is in the Scripture said*, ii. 403.

*That never can be called true Happiness*, ii. 71.

*Th' Eternal Mind, ev'n Heathens understood*, ii. 410.

*The Art of Acting, Sir*, by Aaron Hill, i. 260.

*The Book appears, to my perusing sight*, i. 441.

*The French Ambassador had been to wait*, i. 576.

*The Ghost of Hamlet! Was that Ghost a Rump?* i. 311.

*The God of Love, delighting to bestow*, ii. 392.

*The Gospel's simpler Language being writ*, ii. 262.

*The Hedge-hog for his Arms, I would suppose*, i. 27.

*The Hint I gave sometime ago*, i. 102.

*The human Spirit, when it burns and shines*, ii. 465.

*The Lord is my Light; by His Teaching I learn*, ii. 13.

*The Lord is my Shepherd, my Guardian, my Guide*, ii. 4.

*The Lord is risen! He who came*, ii. 41.

*The Love of God, with Genuine Ray*, ii. 396.

*The Morning dawns; the third approaching day*, ii. 39.

*The noblest Object in the works of Art*, i. 560.

*The Saviour died, according to our Faith*, ii. 29.

*The whole Design of this Horatian Strain*, i. 543.

Theandric, ii. 479.

Theatre, Little or New, in the Haymarket, i. 138; first in Manchester, i. 570.

*There is a threefold correspondent Light*, ii. 339.

*There is no kind of a fragmental Note*, ii. 354.

*Theron and Aspasio*, see Hervey.

*This Act reminds me, Gen'men, under Favour*, i. 308.

*This Contrast of Dissenter and Nonjuror*, i. 300.

*This friendly Waistcoat keeps my body warm*, i. 330.

*This is one Ode, and much the best of two*, i. 531.

*"This Manchester affair, at last,"* i. 220.

*This Passage, Sir, which has engag'd of late*, ii. 201.

*This Passage, Sirs, may put you, one would think*, i. 524.

*This Phrase of "Riches built on high,"* i. 521.

*"This Ticket is to be divided."*—Will, i. 383.

*"Tho' all forsake thee, Master, yet not I,"* ii. 245.

Thomasen, John, of Tarvin, his epitaph, ii. 594.

- Thornhaugh, John, of Fenton, Notts. ii. 610.
- THOUGHTS ON RIME AND BLANK VERSE, i. xxvi, 387.
- ON THE CONSTITUTION OF HUMAN NATURE, AS REPRESENTED IN THE SYSTEMS OF MODERN PHILOSOPHERS, i. 240.
- UPON HUMAN REASON, OCCASIONED BY READING SOME EXTRAVAGANT DECLAMATIONS IN ITS FAVOUR, ii. 336.
- THREE BLACK CROWS, THE, a tale, i. 151.
- Three different schemes, &c., Byrom's verses not extant, ii. 578.
- Thrutten = thrust, i. 291.
- Thus Homer, describing the pestilent lot, i. 486.*
- Thyer, Robert, Librarian of Chetham's Library, i. 178, 296, 358; ii. 616, 646.
- THY WILL BE DONE! ii. 562.
- Tillotson, Archbp., on the derivation of "Hocus-Pocus," ii. 599.
- Tim Bobbin, *see* Collier, John.
- Time that is past thou never can'st recall, i. 567.*
- 'Tis not to tell what various Mischief springs, i. 156.*
- Tit = nag, or small horse, i. 194.
- To give Reproof in Anger, to be sure, i. 568.*
- To Haddon, John, and Heyward, Thomas, greeting, i. 90.*
- To hear the words of Scripture, or to read, ii. 129.*
- TO HIS WIFE, ii. 96.
- "To the God of my Love, in the Morning," said she, ii. 89.*
- Toft, co. Chester, residence of Byrom's friend, Ralph Leycester, i. xiii, 30, 45; ii. 593.
- Tofts, Mary, an impostor, i. 67.
- Toller, Prof. T. N., i. i., *et al.*
- TOM THE PORTER, i. 296.
- Tonge, Mr. —, ii. 647.
- Tooting, meaning of the word, i. 12.
- Turner, or Turner, Richard, i. 40.
- Tortworth, co. Gloucester, i. 149.
- Townley, Col. Francis, a Manchester Martyr, i. 333.
- Townshend, or Townsend, Mr., ii. 596, 603.
- TRANSLATED VERSE, ii. 538.
- Transmigration of the Soul, i. 172.
- Trapp, Dr. Joseph, i. 441; ii. 170.
- Traunt, Mr. Trent (?), ii. 635.
- Traunts = trash, i. 370, 481, 506.
- Trench, Archbp., i. 414; ii. 85.
- TRINITY SUNDAY, OW, 46, 49.
- Tristram, Mr. C., on the springs of Tunbridge, i. 11.
- TRUE AND FALSE INSPIRATION, ii. 534.
- TRUE AND FALSE RELIGION, ON THE GROUND OF, ii. 379.
- True, Leslie was a great Divine, but yet, ii. 67, 626.*
- True Life, according to the Scripture Plan, ii. 377.*
- TRUE RELIGION, A PLAIN ACCOUNT OF THE NATURE AND DESIGN OF, ii. 374.
- Tunbridge Wells, notice of, i. 13, 16.
- TUNBRIDGIALE, i. 10.
- "Turning the pulpits," i. 106.
- 'Twas a good Sermon; but a close Review, ii. 477.*
- Two different Painters, Artists in their way, ii. 495.*
- Two foot companions once in deep discourse, i. 193.*
- Tyke = dog, i. 281.
- UNION AND THREEFOLD DISTINCTION OF GOD, NATURE, AND CREATURE, ii. 468.
- UNIVERSAL GOOD THE OBJECT OF THE DIVINE WILL, and Evil the necessary effect of the Creature's opposition to it, ii. 392.
- Upham, Prof. T. C., his *Life of Mdme. Guyon*, ii. 80.
- UPROUSE YE, THEN, i. 213.
- Urban or Sylvan, or Whatever Name, i. 224.*
- Urchin = hedgehog, i. 28.
- VAUDREY, Thomas, ii. 595.
- Vernon, Frederick, D.D., Rector of St. George's Bloomsbury, his verses on the Epiphany, ii. 23; Byrom's verses on his sermon not extant, 581.
- VERSES CONTRIBUTED TO THE CHESTER COURANT (TOM THE PORTER), i. 295.
- DESIGNED FOR AN INFIRMARY, ii. 341.
- ON THE ATTACK UPON BYNG IN THE "MONITOR," i. 429.
- ON THE DANGER, &c., OF HASTILY ATTACHING WRONG IDEAS TO WORDS (two sets), i. 156, 178.
- SPOKEN AT THE BREAKING UP OF THE MANCHESTER GR. SCHOOL (THE THREE BLACK CROWS), i. 148.
- SPOKEN BY A SOLDIER AFTER HE RECEIVED A FLANNEN WAISTCOAT, i. 329.

VERSES WRITTEN UNDER A PRINT REPRESENTING CHRIST IN THE MIDST OF THE DOCTORS, ii. 61.

— WRITTEN UNDER A PRINT REPRESENTING THE SALUTATION OF THE VIRGIN, ii. 58.

Vigor, Joseph, ii. 606.

Vole = a deal at cards, i. 191, 564.

Voltaire on Dr. John Brown's *Estimate*, &c., i. 440.

Vondel, J. van den, Dutch poet, his influence on Milton, i. 186.

WAINTLY = quaintly, i. 280.

Wainwright, R., Mus. Doc., ii. 20.

Waiter = warder, i. 229.

Wake, Archbp., his *Epistles of the Apostolical Fathers*, ii. 617.

Walker, Mr., i. 35, 47, 48; ii. 631.

Walks, the, at Tunbridge, account of, i. 13, 16.

Walmsley, Gilbert, translates Byrom's Pastoral into Latin, i. 3, 7.

Walpole, Horace, i. 318.

— Horatio, Lord, i. 138.

— Sir Robert, i. 19, 37.

Waltham Blacks, i. 98.

Warburton family of Arley, co. Chester, i. 234, 382.

— Lady B(etty), i. 382.

— Sir Peter, i. 234, 382.

— Rowland Eyles Egerton, i. 382.

— William, Bp. of Gloucester, character of his sermons, i. 89; Pope's satirical lines, 437; Dr. Brown's complimentary notices, 446; his correspondence with Byrom, how occasioned, ii. 144; letters to Byrom, 163, 164; his estimate of Byrom, 176-197; Byrom's verses on his sermon on the Holy Spirit, 247-73; the like on *the Doctrine of Grace*, 274, 278-81; mentioned, i. xviii, 78, 182, 234; ii. 468.

Ward = world, i. 278, 279, 287.

— Abel, Prebendary of Chester, i. 333.

— John, Parliamentary agent, ii. 616.

Ware, co. Hertford, i. 72.

Warken, Old-English plural, i. 268, 276.

Warrington, Rector of, see Haddon, Rev. John.

*Was ye not sadly frighten'd, Honest Harry*, i. 276.

WATCHING, THE SEASON FOR, ii. 535.

Watkis, Mr., ii. 594.

Watts, Dr. Isaac, his metrical version of Psalm XXIII., ii. 3; his hymns, 115; on "Election," 509.

Watson, —, of Emmanuel Coll., i. 136.

Waugh, Edwin, his Lancashire Songs, i. 115, 266.

WAYS OF GOD, THE, ii. 530.

"*We are the Men*," is the contentious cry, i. 558.

Weaver Navigation Trust, i. 80.

Weigeliu, or Weigel, Valentine, i. 368.

*Well, Sirs! such a rimer, so horribly stupid*, i. 378.

Welly = well-nigh, i. 284.

Weymouth, Lord, Ken's Dedication to, ii. 115, 120.

We'n = we will, i. 285.

*We ought to read, my worthy Friend Pontieu*, ii. 131.

Wesley, Charles, Byrom's letter to, ii. 74; his hymns mentioned, 74, 77, 115, 117; his sermon on "Guardian Angels," 435; on Law's *Serious Call*, 440.

— John, on Enthusiasm, ii. 173; on Imputed Righteousness, 484, 486; on Mdme. Bourignon, 559; mentioned, 96, 126, 203, 247, 293, 383, 523.

West, Thomas, see Coffee Houses (Tom's).

Weston, James, inventor of a method of Shorthand, i. 72, 246.

Whaint = quaint, i. 291.

*What a deal of Impertinent Stuff at this Time*, i. 388.

*What an excessive Fondness for Debate*, ii. 498.

*What! another Hare, Peter? Well, so much the better!* i. 243.

*What! be a Niger? No, my absent Friend!* i. 137.

*What Ills, dear Phebe, would it not prevent*, i. 121.

*What is more tender than a Mother's Love*, ii. 73, 648.

"*What is Religion?*"—*Why, it is a Cure*, ii. 374.

*What Monitor's here! What a British Freeholder!* i. 431.

*What! must Mæcenas, when he sups*, i. 508.

*What tho' no Objects strike upon the Sight*, ii. 53.

*What worship is there in the bended knee*, ii. 68.

Whatton's *History of Manchester School*, i. 149.

- When Christians first received the joyful news*, ii. 266.  
*When Loubred of Rochdale, good People, sat down*, i. 363.  
*When, once, a King enquired (no Matter who)*, i. 331.  
*When Socrates had read, as Authors note*, ii. 334.  
*When'er this Horace comes into one's Hand*, i. 527.  
*Where now the Jove, the Phæbus, and the Nine*, ii. 127.  
 Whick = alive, i. 270.  
 WHIG WORKHOUSE BILL, ON THE, i. 220.  
 Whincop, Thomas, on the play *Hurlo-thrumbo*, i. 140.  
 Whiston, William, i. 101; ii. 142, 199.  
 White, "senior," member of the Shorthand Society, i. 64.  
     — Taylor, ii. 579, 610.  
 Whitefield, George, ii. 173, 190, 486.  
 Whitehall, Mr., of Furnival's Inn, ii. 606.  
*Whitehall Evening Post*, i. 364.  
 Whitehead, Paul, i. 49, 94.  
     — William, afterwards Poet Laureate, i. xxv, 460.  
*"Whither is Europe's ancient Spirit fled?"* i. 461.  
 Withorne, Mr., ii. 617.  
 WHITSUNDAY, ON, ii. 44.  
 Whitworth's Manchester Magazine, see Manchester Magazine; lines to the memory of Byrom in, i. xi.  
 WHITWORTH'S VICARIOUS SUFFERINGS, i. 313.  
*Wholly and solely to rejoice in this*, ii. 73.  
*Why, prithee now, what does it signify*, i. xvi, 115.  
*Why so grave, Harry? What's the matter, pray?* i. 283.  
*Why thus, dear Miso, deep in Hist'ry read*, i. 313.  
 WICKEDNESS OF REVENGE, THE, i. 569.  
 Wickham, Henry, Rector of Guiseley, i. 4.  
 Wild, Jonathan, his execution, i. 38-46.  
 William of Wykeham, i. 554.  
 Williams, Mr. (perhaps of Trinity), ii. 595.  
     — Sir Charles Hanbury, i. 63.  
     — Peer (Peter), i. 43.  
 Willis, Browne, F.S.A., i. 476.  
     — Edward, Bp. of Bath and Wells, i. 19.  
 Willoughby, of Parham, Lord, see Patron of England, On the.  
*Will you please to permit me, my very good Lord*, i. 470.  
 Wilson's, see Coffee Houses.  
 Win (willen) = will, i. 58, 272, 277, 281, 285.  
 Winchester Cathedral, i. 557.  
*Wise Solomon, with all his rambling Doubts*, i. 575.  
*With Hearts deep-rooted in Love's Holy Ground*, ii. 35.  
*With Languages dispers'd, Men were not able*, i. 308.  
 WOODEN HORSE, THE, i. 212.  
 WORKS WITHOUT LOVE, ii. 531.  
*World, adieu, thou real Cheat!* ii. 78.  
 WORLDLINESS, ii. 535.  
 Worthington, Mr., probably Rev. John, Fellow of Peterhouse, Camb., ii. 614.  
 "WRATH," ON THE MEANING OF, AS APPLIED TO GOD IN SCRIPTURE, ii. 401, 405.  
 WRIGHT, HENRY, OF MOBBEBLY, STANZAS ADDRESSED TO, i. 77; account of, 79, 90; ii. 641.  
     — Henry Offley ("coz. Wright"), i. 79.  
*Writing or Scripture, Sacred or Profane*, ii. 276.  
*Wus yo at Church o' Sunday Morning, John?* i. 267.  
 Wykeham, co. Hants, i. 557.  
 YATES, Joseph, lessee of the School Mills (1726), i. 109; ii. 609.  
*Ye men that came from Brazen Nose*, i. 214.  
*Ye Poets, and Critics, and Men of the Schools*, i. 513.  
*Yes! I do suffer for the Jackanapes*, i. 313.  
*Yes! I have read them;—but I cannot find*, ii. 337.  
 Yo'n = you will, i. 285.  
 Yo'st = you shall, i. 274.  
*You ask me, friend, what cause can be assigned*, i. 208.  
 Young, Mr., i. 47.  
     — Edward, his *Love of Fame*, Byrom's acquaintance with, i. 126.  
*Your Consent, I made bold to suppose, in my last*, i. 491.  
*Your Book again, with Thanks! of Worthy Men*, ii. 117.  
*You wonder'd much why any Man of Parts*, ii. 258.  
 ZEAL AND MEEKNESS, ii. 533.  
*Zeuxis of old a Female Centaur drew*, i. 235.  
 Zinzendorff, Count, ii. 87.  
 Zollman, Philip Henry, on Shorthand in Germany, i. 395.

# The Fifty-second Report

(13th of the NEW SERIES)

OF THE

## COUNCIL OF THE CHETHAM SOCIETY,

*Read at the Annual Meeting, held by permission of the Feoffees, in the  
Audit Room of Chetham's Hospital, Manchester, on Thursday, the  
30th of May, 1895, by adjournment from the 1st of March.*

---

THE volumes of the Society's Publications for 1894-5 have already been issued to the Members. These are Sir Stephen Glynne's *Notes on the Churches of Cheshire*, edited by CANON ATKINSON, and the *Note Book of the Rev. Thomas Jolly*, edited by COLONEL FISHWICK.

The *Notes on the Churches of Cheshire* are of the same character as those on the Lancashire Churches, which form one of the volumes of the Society for 1891-2. They give descriptions of churches, made by Sir Stephen Glynne between 1832 and 1864, and include many details which the hand of the so-called restorer has since destroyed, and which are nowhere else to be found recorded, while the notes of the Editor add much of interest, especially a careful description in each case of the communion plate and bells.

The *Note Book of the Rev. Thomas Jolly, 1671-1693*, forms, as the Editor states in his preface, "an interesting addition to the Diaries of Adam Martindale and Henry Newcome, and not only illustrates a period of our local history, concerning which materials are by no means plentiful," but it also illustrates in a remarkable degree the least favourable side of Puritanism. Jolly was equally without the shrewd common sense and mixture of "worldliness and other-worldliness" of Adam Martindale, or the kindly geniality of Newcome, and were it not that the *Note Book* is undoubtedly the genuine production of a pious and sincere Puritan, its contents—largely consisting of special interpositions of providence in favour of Mr. Jolly and in punishment of his enemies—would probably

have been considered to be a gross and unfair caricature of later Puritanism and early Nonconformity, written by a bitter enemy. The Editor has prefixed an interesting and exhaustive history of the Jolly family, which, as well as the volume generally, contains much matter of interest to Lancashire genealogists.

The printing of the third part of *Byrom's Poems*, edited by Dr. WARD, is completed, and that of the fourth part, concluding the Poems, and containing Extracts from the Common-Place Book, is well advanced. Both parts will be issued in the course of the next few months. A full index to the four parts is being made by Mr. FRANCIS M. JACKSON, for whose help the Council is much indebted.

It is a matter of great satisfaction to the Council to be able to announce that a competent editor has been found for the *Visitationes exemptæ jurisdictionis Abbatis et Conventus Beatae Mariæ Virginis de Whalley*, in Miss ALICE M. COOKE, M.A., late Jones Fellow of the Owens College, and now Assistant Lecturer in History there. Miss Cooke's papers in the *English Historical Review* on *The Settlement of the Cistercians in England*, will be known to some of the members, and, as well as her articles in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, show that she possesses exceptional qualifications for the work which she has so kindly undertaken.

Some years since, the President mentioned at the Annual Meeting of the Society, the *Account Book of Sir Nicholas Shireburn*, the last of that family who owned and occupied Stonyhurst, as being in the possession of Mr. Weld-Blundell of Lulworth, the present representative of the Shireburns. Since that time three other volumes of the Account Books have been discovered at Stonyhurst, and the Council has now the satisfaction of stating that the Rev. JOHN GERARD, S.J., the author of the admirable *History of Stonyhurst* published last year, has undertaken to edit a selection from them, which cannot fail to prove of much interest, relating as they do to a period when Lancashire probably possessed a greater number of Roman Catholic gentry than any other county. These Account Books deal with the earlier years of the eighteenth century.

During the past year the Council has lost by death two of its members, Mr. J. P. Earwaker, M.A., F.S.A., and the Rev. R. Tonge, M.A., Hon. Canon of Manchester. By the death of Mr. Earwaker, not only the Council of the Chetham Society, but the cause of archæology and genealogy in Lancashire and Cheshire has sustained a heavy loss. He had been a member of the Council since 1879, and edited for the Society two volumes of *Lancashire and Cheshire Wills and Inventories at Chester* (N.S., vols. 1 and 28). A further collection of interesting local Wills was prepared by him, and this will probably form one or more future

volumes. He also completed the editing of the *Visitation of Lancashire, 1533*, commenced by the late Mr. William Langton (Old Series, Vol. 110), besides contributing much to other volumes, being always ready and willing to assist the editors, while his large store of genealogical information rendered his assistance most valuable. There was probably no man who possessed so great an amount of genealogical information relating to Lancashire and Cheshire, and he had in contemplation at the time of his death a *History of the County of Lancaster*, upon an unusually extended scale. His numerous books and papers (principally relating to Cheshire history and genealogy) are all marked by the same characteristics—exactness and accuracy. Mr. Earwaker died on the 29th of January, 1895, aged 47 years.

Canon Tonge had been a member of the Council since 1884. He took great interest in the work of the Society, and in 1888 succeeded Mr. J. E. Bailey as Honorary Secretary, an office which he held for rather more than a year. He did not, however, edit any volume for the Society, though at one time he contemplated undertaking a *History of the Chapelry of Stretford*. Canon Tonge's death occurred on the 1st of March, 1895.

Six other members of the Society have died during the past year, including the venerable Sir Gilbert Greenall, Bart., who was one of the original founders of the Society. Eight new members have been elected.

The following further works are in progress:—

*The Minutes of the Bury and Bolton Presbyterian Classes.* By W. A. SHAW, M.A.

*The Life of Humphrey Chetham.* By C. W. SUTTON, Esq.

*The Lancashire Recusants of 1716: being a True List of the names of those convicted as Popish Recusants at the several Quarter Sessions within the County Palatine of Lancaster.* By JOSEPH GILLOW, Esq.

*History of the Chapelry of Newton.* By Rev. ERNEST F. LETTS, M.A.

*History of the Chapelry of Stretford.* By H. T. CROFTON, Esq.

**Dr.      The Treasurer in Account with the Chatham Society, for the year ending February 28th, 1895.      Cr.**

By 198 Subscriptions for current year .....	198	0	0	£	s.	d.			
„ 35 Subscriptions collected for previous years .....	35	0	0						
„ 17 Subscriptions paid in advance .....	17	0	0						
„ Books sold .....	19	12	2						
„ Consol dividends on £200 stock .....	5	6	6						
„ Bank interest .....	1	4	5						
<hr/>									
To C. Simms & Co.—				£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Vol. 30, "Byron's Poems," Part II. ....	144	2	3						
Less, paid on Account, reported last year	100	0	0						
							44	2	3
Vol. 31, "Church of Lancaster," Vol. II. ....							114	14	7
Vol. 32, "Churches of Cheshire." .....							74	17	1
Vol. 33, "Jolly's Note Book." .....							96	9	5
„ Sundry printing and postages, carriage of volumes, stationery, &c., from Jan. to Dec., 1894 .....							9	17	8
„ Guardian Fire Assurance Company .....							1	5	0
„ Sutton and Co., Carriage of Vols. to Members:—									
May, 1894 .....							5	5	8
August, 1894 .....							4	12	2
„ Postages, &c., by Bank .....							0	11	11
Balance in Bank, Feb. 28th, 1895 .....							351	15	9
							58	13	3
							£410	9	0

	276	3	1
„ Balance brought forward from March 1st, 1894 .....	134	5	11
	£410	9	0

J. JOS. JORDAN, Treasurer.  
Audited and found correct, November 8th, 1895.

I. HOLME NICHOLSON,  
JOSEPH THOMPSON,  
CHARLES J. R. TRAPPES, } Auditors.

**Dr.**      *The Treasurer in Account with the Chelham Society, for the year ending February 28th, 1894.*      **Cr.**

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
By 202 Subscriptions for current year .....	202	0	0	To C. Simms & Co.—			
„ 49 Subscriptions collected for previous years.....	49	0	0	Vol. 28, "Lancashire and Cheshire Wills," 117	11	11	
„ 13 Subscriptions paid in advance .....	13	0	0	"General Index" (reprint).....	221	14	5
„ Books sold to Members .....	29	19	9	Less, paid on Account, reported last year	£339	6	4
„ Consol dividends on £200 stock.....	5	7	1	£71 18s. 7d. and £80.....	151	18	7
„ Bank interest.....	2	9	1	Less, payable by Mr. Axon.....	£187	7	9
					145	0	0
				Vol. 29, "Byrom's Poems," Part I. ....	42	7	9
				Sundry Printing, Carriage of Volumes, Stamped	131	3	10
				Envelopes, &c., from September, 1892, to May			
				15th, 1893.....	11	4	3
				Do. do. from May, 1893, to December 30th,			
				1893 .....	5	19	10
				Rev. Canon Atkinson, for transcripts of Sir Stephen			
				Glynne's notes of the Churches of Lancashire			
				and Cheshire .....	1	5	0
				Mr. A. Bower Sparkhall, for transcripts of Short-			
				hand notes from Dr. Byrom's commonplace			
				Book .....	35	0	0
				Mr. W. A. Shaw, for transcripts of Wills .....	2	13	0
				Mr. Earwaker and others, for transcripts for Jolly's			
				Note Book, per Lt.-Colonel Fishwick .....	3	10	0
				Mr. W. E. A. Axon, for additional work on the			
				General Index .....	10	0	0
				Hon. Secretary's petty disbursements from April,			
				1891, to June 1st, 1893, for clerical assistance,			
				directing circulars, making list of Chetham			
				Papers, &c. ....	7	6	0
				Do. do. Postages and Parcels .....	1	7	0
				Sutton and Co., Carriage of Vols. to Members:—			
				May, 1893 .....	5	9	5
				Guardian Fire Assurance Company .....	1	5	0
				Postages, &c., by Bank and Treasurer .....	0	15	7
				C. Simms & Co., Printing in progress, Vol. 30, &c. 100	0	0	0

Audited and found correct, October 11th, 1894.  
 J. HOLME NICHOLSON,  
 JOSEPH THOMPSON,  
 CHARLES J. B. TRAPPES, }  
 Auditors.

1

2